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THE

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LXXI

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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LXXI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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Cover illustration: **4807.** Sophocles' *Epigonoi*

PREFACE

Part I of this volume adds four new ancient witnesses (**4803–4806**) from the third and fourth centuries to the manuscripts of the Gospel of John. This Gospel remains the best-represented book of the New Testament in the papyri from Egypt, although its preponderance, especially in relation to Matthew, has been overestimated by some.

Part II offers a passage (**4807**) from a lost play by Sophocles on the Theban cycle, *Epigonoi*, in which a chorus pensively recounts preparations for war; a primitive handbook of hellenistic historians (**4808**) and an elegant disquisition on hellenistic monarchs (**4809**); a rhetor's declamation aping speeches from Thucydides (**4810**); and a lost novel (**4811**) in which a protagonist inflicts declamations on his girlfriend in (perhaps) an Ionian setting. Some of these novelties contribute solutions of long-standing problems: thus **4807** restores the context of two Sophoclean verses much parodied in Attic comedy; **4808** may be thought to settle at last the date of the historian Clitarchus.

Part III publishes a further group of papyri (**4813–16**) of the *Iliad*, and related Homeric texts, including **4817**, a paraphrase of *Iliad* I (its text transmitted verbatim by at least two previously published papyri), and two closely related scholia minora to *Iliad* I (**4818–19**), together with more detailed commentaries on books III and XV of the *Odyssey* having some claim to scholarly credentials (**4820–21**). The erudition and educational interest evinced by many of these texts is complemented by **4812**, a lexicon rich in foreign, especially 'Eastern' (e.g. Persian) words, additionally-identified portions of a papyrus first published by A. S. Hunt in vol. XV (**1802**).

In the documentary section we note especially **4822–5**, declarations of livestock, further illustration of an administrative process that goes back to the reign of Augustus. In **4827** of AD 173/4 an ex-highpriest leases land to an Alexandrian citizen, a high-level transaction; among leases of the fifth and sixth centuries, we find an apartment being leased to one woman by another, and city property being leased to a woman by the church of St Mary (**4832–3**). **4828–9** show the practice, not uncommon, of copying loan documents in duplicate on the same sheet. **4834** and **4835** relate to the Apion archive, the latter a notably illiterate loan contracted by one of the family's retainers. **4835–7** attest dating formulae that hint at dynastic confusions under Justin II, Tiberius, and Maurice.

Part V records, and assigns series numbers to, a group of drawings (patterns for weaving and a sketch of a man) already published elsewhere.

The texts edited by Dr Yuan formed part of her doctoral thesis, supervised at UCLA by Professor Haslam. Dr Hatzilambrou's contribution includes items from her doctoral thesis, supervised at University College London by Professor Maehler.

The award of a British Academy Visiting Fellowship to the Revd Professor J. Chapa helped him to complete the work here published in Section I.

We are indebted to Mr Amin Benaissa for his sterling work in revising texts and compiling the indexes, and to Dr Daniela Colomo for her valuable help with copy-editing and proof-reading.

The Editors record their usual debt of gratitude to Dr Dean for expert and expeditious typography and to The Charlesworth Group for efficient production, as well as to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy for facilitating the ongoing editing, imaging, and conservation of the papyri.

July 2007

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AB = A. Benaissa
AGB = A. G. Beresford
JC = J. Chapa
LC = L. Capponi
NG = N. Gonis
RH = R. Hatzilambrou
CM = Chr. Mülke
DO = D. Obbink
PJP = P. J. Parsons
MPP = M. P. Pobjoy
PMP = P. M. Pinto
FS = F. Schironi
GU = G. Ucciardello
GAX = G. A. Xenis
JY = J. Yuan

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NUMBERS AND PLATES

4803	I	**4812**	VIII, IX
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

α̣β̣γ̣	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
. . .	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[. . .]	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ⏓, ϲτρ(ατηγόϲ) represents the abbreviation ϲτρʃ
⟦αβγ⟧	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
`αβγ´	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.*

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (*BASP* Suppl. no. 9, ^{5}2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

4803–4806. New Testament: Gospel of John

These four fragments ($\mathfrak{P}^{119-122}$) follow on the publication in LXV **4445–4448** of four other papyri of the Gospel of John ($\mathfrak{P}^{106-109}$), and bring the total number of published papyri of this gospel to 31. Thirteen of these 31 fragments are known with certainty to come from Oxyrhynchus, which is the provenance of 51 New Testament papyri out of the 122 (out of perhaps 118 separate manuscripts). For the figures and a survey of the socio-cultural and intellectual context of the early Christian manuscripts in Oxyrhynchus, see E. J. Epp, *JBL* 123 (2004) 5–55, esp. 12–14 = *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism* (2005) chap. 24, where further references to the significance for textual criticism of the Oxyrhynchus findings are given. See also P. M. Head, *Tyndale Bulletin* 51 (2000) 1–16, with a summary of the main contents of the recently published papyri of John on pp. 10–12, and J. K. Elliott, *Novum Testamentum* 41 (1999) 209–13.

The preponderance of manuscripts of John among the earliest Christian papyri has already been the object of discussion and speculation (see T. C. Skeat, L **3523** introd.). In 1967, K. Aland suggested, on the grounds of the preference for the Fourth Gospel among Gnostics, that this preponderance of manuscripts of John would favour W. Bauer's thesis that early Christian Egypt was dominated by Gnosticism. However, as Skeat pointed out, following C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* (1979) 52, the Gnostic nature of the Egyptian Church may be questioned in view of the fact that hardly any specifically Gnostic texts have been found among pre-fourth-century papyri unearthed in Egypt. Aland's argument was also challenged by S. R. Llewelyn in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* vii (1994) 242–8, who demonstrated that there is no significant difference between the proportions of papyri of John in the earlier and later periods. If Gnosticism accounts for the number of papyri in the earlier period, we would need an explanation for the same popularity in the later period. Moreover, we do not know whether John was more popular in Egypt than anywhere else and whether Gnostics preferred it to other New Testament writings. C. E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (2005), has recently contended that throughout the second century the Gospel of John retained a prominent place within 'orthodox' Christianity and was only marginally useful to Gnosticism. Among his arguments he combines the high number of papyri of John with evidence from early Christian iconography to show that the Fourth Gospel was known and very highly valued among the 'orthodox' churches, even at Rome, at least by the latter part of the second century (pp. 148–66). In any case, the question concerning its popularity does not argue for or against the 'orthodoxy' of its readers. Christians

of all tendencies in the early Egyptian Church might have had a preference for the Fourth Gospel.

It should also be noted that the alleged preponderance of manuscripts of John is not overwhelming. If we compare the number of extant papyri of John to those of Matthew, we find that the difference is not great. Of the 31 papyri of the Fourth Gospel published to date, seventeen are assigned dates ranging from the second century to the beginning of the fourth. From the same period we have sixteen papyri of the Gospel of Matthew, out of a total of 24.

The twenty-three papyri of John published prior to 1998 are collected and collated in W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, *The New Testament in Greek*, iv: *The Gospel according to John*, i: *The Papyri* (1995); note also C. E. Hill's short note in *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [http://purl.org/TC] 7 (2002), in which some minor errors in $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$ (L **3523**) and 0232 (P. Ant. I 12) are noticed, and P. M. Head, *Biblica* 25 (2004) 399–408, on singular readings in the early Johannine papyri.

The supplements in the transcriptions and the information in the notes are taken from Nestle–Aland, *Novum Testamentum graece* (27th edition, 1993). The texts are collated with Nestle–Aland^{27}; Tischendorf, *editio octava critica maior*; Elliott–Parker (quoted above); and A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, iv: *Johannes-Evangelium* (1963). Abbreviations and symbols are those of Nestle–Aland^{27}, except that the letters that designate Old Latin manuscripts are prefixed by Lvt MS.

I am indebted to the Revd Professor David C. Parker for most valuable suggestions and criticism.

4803. Gospel of John i 21–8, 38–44

114/106 (a) 2.7 × 11 cm Third century
$\mathfrak{P}^{119}$ Plate I

Two joining fragments containing traces of sixteen lines from the bottom of a leaf of a papyrus codex. The script is that of an expert scribe, written in a black ink now rather faded. Letters are loosely placed with generous space before and after. No ligatures are visible, except for the middle horizontal of ϵ, which tends to project towards ι and ρ. The hand shows a combination of broad and narrow letters with η, ν, and μ considerably broad. γ sometimes has a sinuous tail. The bowl of ω is almost flat, α is written in two strokes, as a semicircle closed by a diagonal, ο is sometimes small and suspended. This manner belongs within the upright branch of Turner's 'Formal mixed' group (*GMAW*^{2} p. 22), characteristic of the third century. It is close to LXVI **4498**, a papyrus of the Epistle to the Hebrews, compared by the editor to I **23**, which should be dated before 295, and XVII **2098**, probably written in the first half of the third century (*GLH* 19b).

Inorganic diaereses are visible over initial υ and ι in ↓ 12, 15 and → 7. Organic diacresis, whose use does not become common before the second century AD (Z. Aly, L. Koenen, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint* (1980) 7), occurs in ↓ 7 (ηcαϊ[ac). *Nomina sacra* are not attested (but assumed for κυριος, ιηcους, and χριcτος in the lost parts of the text).

A bottom margin of 1 cm remains visible. Since no lateral margins survive, the position of the text within the leaf is uncertain, and the line-divisions of the supplemented text are arbitrary. If we use the Nestle–Aland[27] edition to restore the lost text, the average number of letters to the line is 33 on both sides. Thus, between the last letter of ↓ and the first of → *c.*24 lines must have been lost, which gives a page of approximately 40 lines. The height of the written area would have been *c.*23.5 and the width *c.*12 cm. The size of the page would have been at least 14 × 25 cm, which falls within Turner's group 8 (*Typology of the Early Codex* 95). Considering that the expected number of words for a normal text from the end of ↓ to the end of → is 281, and that the Gospel of John has 15,635 words, the codex would have occupied around 55 pages. Since the fragment begins at mid-page and, according to the Nestle–Aland[27] text, the number of words missing from the beginning of the gospel to the first word of the fragment is 289, which would roughly correspond to one page in length, it is very likely that the gospel began at mid-height on a right-hand page. It was therefore probably part of a codex that contained other books as well. This is the case with 𝔓[75], where the Gospel of John follows the Gospel of Luke on the same page.

Parts of the text overlap with 𝔓[5], 𝔓[55], 𝔓[59], 𝔓[66], 𝔓[75], 𝔓[106] and **4804**. **4803** has some affinities with 𝔓[5] (note especially the omission in i 25 (↓ 9) and 27 (↓ 14)). It also shows, however, some minor differences: 𝔓[5] seems to omit εγω in i 27 (↓ 14), and **4803** adds *Πετρου* after *Cιμωνος* in i 40 (→ 6).

↓ . . . . . .

	[ ] κ̣α̣ι̣ [ηρωτηcαν αυτον]	i 20–21
	[τι ουν cυ Ηλιας ει και] λ̣ε̣γ̣[ει ουκ ειμι ο]	
	[προφητης ει cυ και απε]κριθη ο̣[υ ειπαν ουν]	22
	[αυτω τις ει ινα αποκριcι]ν δ̣ω̣μ̣ε̣[ν τοις πεμ]	
5	[ψαcιν ημας τι λεγειc π]ερι cεα[υτου εφη]	23
	[εγω φωνη βοωντος εν τη] ε̣ρημω [ευθυνατε]	
	[την οδον κυ καθως ειπεν] Ηcαϊ[ac ο προφη]	
	[της και απεcταλμενοι ηc]αν εκ τ̣[ων Φαρι]	24
	[caιων και ηρωτηcαν αυτο]ν τ̣ι̣ ουν̣ [βαπτιζειc]	25
10	[ει cυ ουκ ει ο χc ουδε Ηλ]ι̣ac ουδ[ε ο προφη]	
	[της απεκριθη αυτοις ο Ι]ωαν̣ν[ης λεγων]	26
	[εγω μεν βαπτιζω υμας ε]ν ϋδατι [μεcος δε]	

[υμων εστηκεν ον υμεις ο]ụκ οιδα̣τ[ε ο οπισω] 27
[μου ερχομενος ου ουκ ει]μ̣ι̣ εγω α̣[ξιος ινα λυ]
[cω αυτου τον ιμαντα το]ụ̈πο[δηματος ταυτα] 28
[εν Βηθανια εγενετο περ]αν τ̣[ου Ιορδανου]

→ . . . . . .

[ ]..[ ]
[ ]. π̣ọ̣υ̣ [μενεις λεγει αυτοις ερχεcθε] 38–9
[και οψεcθ]ε̣ ηλθ̣[αν ουν και ειδαν που μενει και]
[παρ αυτω] εμειν[αν την ημεραν εκεινην ωρα]
[ην ως δε]κατη η̣[ν ανδρεας ο αδελφος Cιμω] 40
[νος Πε]τ̣ρου ε̣[ις εκ των δυο των ακουcαν]
[των παρ]α Ἰωα̣ν̣[νου και ακολουθηcαντων αυ]
[τω ευριc]κ̣ει̣ ο̣υ̣τ̣[ος πρωτον τον αδελφον τον] 41
[ιδιον Cι]μωνα̣ κ̣α̣[ι λεγει αυτω ευρηκαμεν]
[τον Μεccια]ν̣ ο εcτι[ν μεθερμηνευομενον χc] 42
[ηγαγεν α]υτον π̣[ρος τον ιν εμβλεψας]
[ ]ω cυ ει [Cιμων ο υιος Ιωαννου cυ]
[κληθηc]η̣ κηφας [ο ερμηνευεται Πετρος τη ε] 43
[παυριο]ν ηθε̣λ̣[ησεν εξελθειν εις την Γαλιλαιαν]
[και ε]υρικε̣[ι Φιλιππον και λεγει αυτω ο]
[ιc ακολ]ο̣υθει [μοι ην δε ο Φιλιππος απο] 44
[Βηθcαιδα] εκ τ̣[ηc]

↓

1–2 *ηρωτηcαν αυτον τι ουν cυ ηλιας ει και*] λ̣ε̣χ[ει restored with most MSS. However, since some MSS add *παλιν* after *αυτον* (so ℵ W^{s}), and some omit *cυ* after *ουν* (so ℵ C L) and *και* before *λεγει* (so ℵ), it is not possible to determine on the grounds of spacing what the papyrus might have read.

3–4 Spacing suggests that the papyrus probably did not read *cυ* before *τιc* (so $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ *pc*, with the support of Lvt MSS c and r^{1}).

8–9 It is unclear whether the papyrus omitted *οι* before *απεcταλμενοι* with $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ* A* B C* L T Ψ 086 *pc* and Origen; spacing is indecisive. *οι* is added by ℵ^{2} A^{c} C^{3} W^{s} X Θ 0234 $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐.

9 *και ηρωτηcαν αυτο*]ν τ̣ι̣. Almost all MSS read *και ηρωτηcαν αυτον και ειπαν αυτω τι ουν* (ℵ T, supported by two Lvt MSS (a e) and sy^{c}, omit *και ηρωτηcαν αυτον*). The papyrus probably omitted *και ειπαν αυτω*. This also seems to have been the case in $\mathfrak{P}^{5}$ and is supported by Lvt MS l.

10 *Hλ*]ι̣ας: so $\mathfrak{P}^{66*}$ ℵ A C, but it could equally be *Hλε*]ιας (so $\mathfrak{P}^{66*c}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ B D L). The spelling in the most important majuscule codices varies between the two forms, the former prevailing in later MSS (cf. Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf § 38.2).

11 *Ι*]ωαν̣ν̣[ηc with $\mathfrak{P}^{5}$ and most MSS. This is also the spelling of $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ in the verses where the name is preserved. The spelling *Ιωανηc* is attested by B and, inconsistently, by $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, where the scribe sometimes wrote *Ιωανηc* (i 6; iii 27), sometimes corrected *Ιωανηc* to *Ιωαννηc* (as is the case here and at x 40), and sometimes wrote it with double nu (as at i 28). Inscriptions and papyri attest both spellings (cf. also Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf § 40.3).

11–12 Most MSS read *λεγων εγω βαπτιζω εν υδατι*, which is too short for the space. The lacuna suggests that the papyrus read *μεν* after *εγω* (so 063f^{13} *pc*) and *υμας* after *βαπτιζω* (so N Δ Θ 063 086$^{(vid)}$, supported by Lvt MS ff^{2}). *βαπτιζω εις μετανοιαν* (cf. the parallel of Matthew iii 11 and Luke iii 16), which is supported by several Lvt MSS, does not seem to fit the space: moreover, *εις μετανοιαν* would probably go after *υδατι*.

12 Spacing suggests that the papyrus must have read *μεσος δε* with A C^{2} W^{s} Θ Ψ f^{1} 33 063 𝔐, and the MSS that read *μεν* after *εγω*. 𝔓^{59} 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} ℵ B C* L 083 *pc* omit *δε*.

13 *ο]υκ οιδα̣τ[ε ο οπισω*. This is the reading of 𝔓$^{5(vid)}$ 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} ℵ^{2} C* L N T W^{s} Θ 083f^{1} 33. 579. 1241 *al*, with the support of Lvt MS a, sy^{s,c} and the Coptic tradition (ℵ* B *pc* omit *ο*). Spacing guarantees that the papyrus did not read *αυτος* (*ουτος*) *εστιν* before *ο οπισω μου* with A C^{3} (Ψ)f^{13} 𝔐, part of Lvt, the Vulgate, and sy^{p,h}.

14 The length of the line shows that the papyrus did not read *ος εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν* after *ερχομενος* with 𝔓^{5} 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} 𝔓^{106} ℵ B C* L N* T W^{s} Ψ 083f^{1} 33. 579 *al*, supported by two Lvt MSS (b l), sy^{s,c} and the Coptic versions, a harmonization with John i 15 and i 30. It is added by A C^{3} (Θ)f^{13} 𝔐, supported by Lvt, the Vulgate, sy$^{(p),h}$ and some Bohairic MSS.

ουκ ει]μι̣ εγω α̣[ξιος. εγω is also read by 𝔓^{66c} B N T W^{s} Ψ 579 *pc* and is omitted by **4804**$^{(vid)}$ 𝔓$^{5(vid)}$ 𝔓^{66*} 𝔓^{75} ℵ C Lf^{13} 33. 565 *al* with two Lvt MSS (aur* q). *εγω ουκ ειμι* is read by A Θf^{1} 𝔐 with the Vulgate and part of Lvt.

α̣[ξιος. 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} and a few MSS read *ικανος* instead of *αξιος*, perhaps through harmonization with Matthew iii 11 and parallels. The alpha in the papyrus is damaged, but the remains of a curve rule out iota.

14–15 The lacuna suggests that the papyrus did not read with 𝔓^{66*c} *λυσω τον ιμαντα του υποδηματος αυτου*.

16 Spacing suggests that the papyrus probably read *Βηθανια* instead of *Βηθαβαρα* or *Βηθαραβα* (see **4804** n.).

→

1 The traces of ink here are so slight that they cannot be matched with certainty to any particular reading.

3 *οψεσθ]ε̣*. This is the reading of 𝔓$^{5(vid)}$ 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} B C* L W^{s} Ψ^{c} 083f^{1} 33. 579 *pc* (Ψ* illeg.) and Origen (in part). ℵ A C^{3} Θ 063f^{13} 𝔐, the Latin tradition and Origen (in part) read *ιδετε*. The lack of lateral margins makes it impossible to determine on the grounds of spacing what the reading of the papyrus might have been. Moreover, it is also possible that the papyrus omitted *ουν* before *και ειδαν* (so 𝔓$^{5(vid)}$ f^{1} 𝔐). The addition of *ουν* is attested by 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} ℵ A B C L N W^{s} Θ Ψf^{13} 33. 579. 892 and Origen (in part).

4 ℵ C^{2} Ω 0233 and the majority of MSS add *δε* after *ωρα*, but given the fragmentary condition of the papyrus nothing definitive can be said.

6 *Πε]τ̣ρου*. This seems to be omitted by 𝔓^{5}.

10 A blob of ink above *ε* in *εστι[ν* is probably accidental.

10–11 The restored text is that of 𝔓^{66*} 𝔓^{75} 𝔓^{106} ℵ B L 579 *pc*, which is supported by Lvt MS b. The length of the restored line does not support the addition of *και* before *ηγαγεν* with A W^{s} Θ Ψf^{13} 33 𝔐 and the Latin and Syriac traditions. Unlikely for the same reason would be *ουτος ηγαγεν* with 𝔓^{66c} Gf^{1} *pc*, the Bohairic versions and Epiphanius.

11–12 After *προς τον Ιησουν* most MSS read *εμβλεψας αυτω ο Ιησους ειπεν*. Here the supplement *π̣[ρος τον ιη̅ν̅* (or *ι̅ν̅*) *εμβλεψας αυτ]ω* (so 𝔓^{66} ℵ A B K L Γ Ψf^{1} 565. 579$^{(vid)}$ 700 *pm* sy^{s}; 𝔓^{106} omits *τον*) seems too short for the space, even if the papyrus read *και εμβλεψας* with W^{s} *pc* (*εμβλεψας δε* is read by 𝔓^{75} Δ Θf^{13} 33. 892. 1241. 1424 *pm*). There are no other attested variants at this point. The reading *εμβλεψας δε ο ι̅η̅ς̅* (or *ι̅ς̅*) *ειπεν αυτ]ω* is the most tempting restoration (cf. Matthew xix 26 *ἐμβλέψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*).

12 Spacing suggests that the papyrus read *υιοc ιωαννου*: so $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{106}$ ℵ B* W^{s} 33 *pc*, with most of the Lvt MSS and the Coptic versions; *υιοc ιωνα* is read by A B^{2} Ψ $f^{1.13}$ 𝔐, with three Lvt MSS (aur e q), the Clementine Vulgate, the Syrian tradition and one Bohairic MS.

JUAN CHAPA

4804. Gospel of John i 25–8, 33–8, 42–4

101/157 (e) 3.5 × 6 cm Fourth century
$\mathfrak{P}^{120}$ Plate II

Three fragments, the largest from the top and the other two from the foot of a leaf from a codex, written in a Biblical Majuscule, strictly bilinear with the exception of ϕ (the obliques of ⲗ in 34 are also extended under the line, but elsewhere kept to it; ⲭ and ⲯ are not attested). The script is upright, rather small, written by a professional scribe, who made an effort to keep an even right margin (the letters become smaller towards the end of the line, so that the script on the → side seems much larger). The hand shows a fondness for straight lines and sharp angles. ⲡ is almost square, the angles of ⲙ, ⲝ and ⲁ are sharp, ⲟ sometimes small and suspended, ⲥ a perfect semicircle, ⲣ a right angle. The top of ⲇ is curved to the left over the first stroke. The oblique strokes of ⲩ are short and meet the vertical at a rather high point. ϵ is somewhat narrow. Letters are made separately but sometimes space between them is almost non-existent.

The hand shows some similarities with early examples of Biblical Majuscule (see for example LXV **4442**, dated by the editor to the early third century, a papyrus from the book of Exodus, written in a hand described as Biblical Majuscule influenced by the 'Severe Style'). It can be compared with P. Mich. III 138 ($\mathfrak{P}^{38}$), a codex of Acts, assigned by Roberts and Skeat to the third/fourth century, and with P. Chester Beatty IV [961], Genesis (R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* ii 56), assigned to the fourth century (a line added in the upper margin of f. 24v, written in a semi-cursive hand of a type well known in the first half of the fourth century, confirms this; see G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* 50–51). A date not later than the fourth century would suit.

There are several spaces between words. A *paragraphos* projects into the margin between 28 and 29, marking perhaps a reading section (cf. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 84–6). A diaeresis and an apostrophe occur in 54 (*βηθ'cαϊδ[α*). Inorganic diaereses over *ι* and *υ* are found in 3, 5, 6, 27, and 31. The *nomina sacra* attested are $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ (28) and $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ (34). There is a iotacism (*ι* for *ϵι*) in 3.

Compared with the size of the letters, the interlinear space is very generous. Margins of 1.5 cm at the top and 1.3 cm at the foot of the page are preserved. 1.5 cm of the outside lateral margin is visible on each side. On ↓ the average number of letters to the line is 28 on the upper part of the page, which seems to decrease

as the lines become closer to the bottom, being *c.*26 in the last four lines. Assuming the Nestle–Aland text and 27 letters per line (where the most common *nomina sacra* were used and leaving aside a *nomen sacrum* for ουρανου and ισραηλ), the page would have contained 27 lines. On → the average number of letters to the line is 28.5, which would also give a page of 27 lines. (This suggests that the script might have run more deeply into the spine, and perhaps reduced its letter size at line-ends as in ↓.) Thus the written area would have been *c.*8.5 × 17.5 cm. The size of the codex, allowing for lateral and vertical margins of 2 cm and 3 cm respectively, would have been *c.*11 × 20.5 cm, which falls within Turner's group 8 (*Typology of the Early Codex* 95). The leaf would have contained *c.*330 words, and the whole codex would have consisted of approximately 95 pages. There are *c.*357 words missing between the beginning of the Gospel and the beginning of **4804**, which means that, if only one page is missing and the fragment was part of pages 3 and 4 of the codex, the first page must have had a couple of lines more on each side. But it is also possible that the gospel followed another book as part of a larger codex (see **4803** introd.).

Parts of the text overlap with 𝔓^{5}, 𝔓^{55}, 𝔓^{59}, 𝔓^{66}, 𝔓^{75}, 𝔓^{106} and **4803**.

↓	[	ουδε] ο προφητης	i 25
	[απεκριθη αυτοις ο Ιωαν]νης εγω βα		26
	[πτιζω υμας εν υδατι με]ṣος ὑμῶν ἳ		
	[στηκει ον υμεις ουκ οιδ]ạτε ο οπισω		27
5	[μου ερχομενος ου ουκ ει]μι αξιος ἵνạ		
	[λυσω αυτου τον ιμαντα] ṭου ὑποδη		
	[ματος ταυτα εν Βηθανι]α εγενετο		28
	15 lines missing		
	[	] εφ ọν ẹαṿ [ιδης]	33
	[το $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ καταβαινον κα]ι μενον ẹ[π]		
25	[αυτον ουτος ẹcṭιν ο βαπ]ṭ[ιζων εν]		
	[$\overline{\pi\nu\imath}$ αγιω καγω εωρακα] ḳαι μεμ[αρ]		34
	[τυρηκα οτι ουτος εστ]ịν ο ὑιος ọ		
→	ṭọṿ $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ τῃ [επαυριον ειστηκει ο Ιωαν]		35
	νης και ẹ[κ των μαθητων αυτου δυο]		
30	και ẹμβλẹ[ψας τω $\overline{\imath\eta\upsilon}$ περιπατουντι]		36
	λεγει ἳδε ο [αμνος του $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ και ακουσαν]		37
	[τ]ẹc οι δυο μ[αθηται αυτου λαλουντος]		
	ηκολουθη[σαν τω $\overline{\imath\eta\upsilon}$ στραφεις δε ο]		38
	$\overline{\imath\eta\varsigma}$ και θεạ[σαμενος	]	

14 lines missing

	[ερμη]	42
50	ṇευεται Π[ετρος τη επαυριον ηθελη]	43
	[c]εν ε̣ξελ[θειν εις την Γαλιλαιαν και]	
	[ευριc]κ̣ε̣[ι Φιλιππον και λεγει αυτω ο ιηc]	
	[a]κολουθ[ει μοι ην δε ο Φιλιππος απο]	44
	Βηθ'caïδ[a]	

↓

2–3 *ο Ιωαν]νης εγω βα[πτιζω*. Nearly all MSS read *λεγων* after *Ιωαννης*, which the papyrus omitted with $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ f^{1} *pc* and Lvt MS e. For the spelling *Ιωανης* or *Ιωαννης*, see **4803** ↓ 11 n.

εγω βα[πτιζω . . . με]c̣ος ὑμ̣ω̣ν. εγω βαπτιζω εν υδατι μεcος υμων is the reading of $\mathfrak{P}^{59}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ B C* L 083 *pc*. *μεcος δε υμων* is the reading of A C^{2} W^{s} Θ Ψ f^{1} 33 𝔐. *εγω μεν . . . μεcος δε* is read by **4803**$^{(vid)}$ 063f^{13} *pc*.

Spacing suggests that the papyrus read *βα[πτιζω υμας εν υδατι* with **4803**$^{(vid)}$ N Δ Θ 063 and 086$^{(vid)}$. *εις μετανοιαν* after *υδατι* (cf. Matthew iii 11 and Luke iii 16), which is supported by various Lvt MSS, is too long.

3–4 *ε̈[cτηκει* (l. *ειcτηκει*). This is also the reading of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ *pc*, supported by the Vulgate and one Lvt MS (f). *cτηκει* is read by B L 083f^{1} *pc* and Origen (in part). The most common reading is *εcτηκεν*: so $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ A C $T^{(vid)}$ W^{s} Θ Ψ f^{13} 33 𝔐 and Origen (in part). ℵ reads *εcτηκει*.

4 *ουκ οιδ]α̣τε ο οπιcω* with $\mathfrak{P}^{5(vid)}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ^{2} C* L N T W^{s} Θ 083f^{1} 33. 579. 1071. 1241 *al*, one Lvt MS (a), $sy^{s,c}$ and all the Coptic tradition. *ο* is omitted (probably by accident due to the following omicron) by ℵ* B and a few MSS. *αυτος* (*ουτος*) *εcτιν ο οπιcω* is read by A C^{3} (Ψ)f^{13} 565 𝔐, with the support of part of Lvt, the Vulgate, and $sy^{p,h}$.

5 *ερχομενος ου ουκ ει]μι* with $\mathfrak{P}^{5}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{106}$ ℵ B C* L N* T W^{s} Ψ 083f^{1} 33. 579 *al*, supported by two Lvt MSS (b l), $sy^{s,c}$ and the Coptic versions. Numerous MSS (so A C^{3} (Θ)f^{13} 𝔐, part of Lvt, the Vulgate, $sy^{(p),h}$ and some MSS of the Bohairic tradition) add *οc εμπροcθεν μου γεγονεν* after *ερχομενος*.

ουκ ει]μι αξιος. Instead of *αξιος*, $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and a few MSS read *ικανος*, perhaps through harmonization with Matthew iii 11 and parallels. The omission of *εγω* before *αξιος* is also attested by $\mathfrak{P}^{5(vid)}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{66*}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ C Lf^{13} 33. 565 *al*, and two Lvt MSS (aur* q). *εγω* is added by **4803** $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ B N T W^{s} Ψ 579 and a few MSS. Spacing does not suggest the reading *εγω ουκ ει]μι αξιος* (so A Θf^{1} 𝔐 with the Vulgate and part of Lvt).

6–7 Spacing shows that papyrus did not read with $\mathfrak{P}^{66*c}$ *λυcω τον ιμαντα του υποδηματος αυτου*.

7 *]α εγενετο*. The following variants are attested at this point:

ταυτα εν Βηθανια εγενετο $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ A B C L W^{s} 579 *pm*, with the support of the Latin, and most of the Syriac and Bohairic versions.

ταυτα εγενετο εν Βηθανια $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ℵ with most of Lvt.

ταυτα εν Βηθαβαρα εγενετο C^{2} K T Ψe 083$f^{1.13}$ 33 pm $sy^{s,c}$, the Sahidic tradition and Origen.

ταυτα εν Βηθαραβα εγενετο ℵ^{2} 892^{vl} *pc* (sy^{hmg}).

Βηθαβαρα is a 'conjecture' by Origen, *In Joh.* 6, who admits that almost all MSS known to him read *Βηθανια*, but rejects it on the grounds of his geographical knowledge (he could not find a Bethany near the river Jordan), and goes on to propose *Βηθαβαρα*. It is assumed that the MSS supporting *Βηθαβαρα* attest the success of Origen's conjecture.

Spacing suggests that the papyrus did not read ταυτ]α εγενετο [εν Βηθανια, and that it probably had ταυτα εν Βηθανι]α instead of ταυτα εν Βηθαβαρ]α or Βηθαραβ]α.

26 Spacing suggests that the papyrus, with nearly all MSS, did not add και πυρι after αγιω, as is found in C*, supported by the Sahidic tradition and Origen (in part).

27 ο υιος ο̣. The article after υιος is not attested by other MSS. υιος is the reading of ℵ^{c} and most MSS, supported by the majority of Lvt, the Vulgate, and other versions.

𝔓$^{106(vid)}$ and ℵ*, with the support of some Lvt MSS (b e ff^{2*}) and sy^{s,c}, the Sahidic versions, as well as Ambrose and Augustine, read ο εκλεκτος (*electus filius* in Lvt MSS (a) ff^{2c}).

→

28 Most MSS read παλιν ειστηκει. Spacing suggests that the papyrus omitted παλιν with 𝔓$^{5(vid)}$ 𝔓^{75} Γ Ψ *pc*, supported by three Lvt MSS (b e r^{1}), sy^{s,c} and one Bohairic MS. It is not possible to know whether the papyrus omitted ο (so 𝔓^{75} B L and a few MSS).

31 ϊδε ο [αμνος. The lacuna suggests that the papyrus does not read ϊδε ο $\overline{\chi c}$ ο αμνος with G L f^{13} b *pc* sy^{c}, the Sahidic and Armenian versions, and Epiphanius.

31–2 και ακουσαν|τ]ε̣ς οι δυο μ̣[αθηται. There are several variants at this point:

και ηκουσαν αυτου οι δυο μαθηται A C^{3} Θ $f^{1.13}$ 𝔐, with part of Lvt tradition, the Vulgate and sy^{h}.

και ηκουσαν οι δυο αυτου μαθηται 𝔓^{66} 𝔓^{75} C* L W^{s} Ψ 083. 33. 579 *pc*.

και ηκουσαν οι δυο μαθηται αυτου 𝔓$^{55(vid)}$ B (892) *pc* and one Lvt MS (b). αυτου is probably omitted by 𝔓^{5}.

The papyrus probably read και ακουσαν|τ]ε̣ς οι δυο μ̣[αθηται αυτου λαλουντος] | ηκολουθη[σαν τω $\overline{ιηυ}$ (cf. Matthew xx 24 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτησαν). It certainly did not have ο αιρων την αμαρτιαν του κοσμου (cf. John i 29) after ο αμνος του $\overline{θυ}$ with 𝔓^{66*} C (W^{s}) 892* 1241 *pc*, and three Lvt MSS (a aur ff^{2}).

33 Spacing suggests that the papyrus had δε with most MSS. δε is omitted by ℵ* Γ 083 *al.*

50–51 ηθελη|σ]εν ε̣ξελ[θειν. With all early witnesses, and against the later majority text, the papyrus omitted ο ιησους after ηθελησεν, and probably included it after αυτω in 52.

54 Βηθ'σαϊδ̣[α (so nearly all MSS) or Βηθ'σαϊδ̣[αν (so 𝔓^{66} ℵ* 8. 127).

JUAN CHAPA

4805. Gospel of John xix 17–18, 25–6

103/167(a) 3·3 × 4·5 cm Third century
𝔓^{121} Plate I

This small fragment comes from the bottom of a leaf of a papyrus codex. The text is written with a narrow pen in a right-sloping and mostly bilinear rapid script close to the 'Severe Style'. A distinctive serif is visible on the vertical of κ. The suspended ο is particularly small; μ is rather broad; ε is not as narrow as in later samples of 'mature Severe Style'. The hand has similarities with manuscripts of the late second century or early third. See, for example, XIII **1604** or XV **1788**, assigned to the late second century, XXII **2341** (= *GLH* 19c), dated to 202, or II **223** (= *GLH* 21a), written on the back of a document of 186. Among New Testament texts, **4805** is close to LXVI **4497**, a small fragment of St Paul's letter to the Romans, assigned to the third century.

There are no lectional signs attested. The blank space before $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ in ↓ 2 probably serves as punctuation. An organic diaeresis occurs over ι in → 2, and an inorganic one is found in ↓ 2 (in a iotacism). The *nomina sacra* attested are $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ (↓ 2) and $\overline{\mu\rho}$.[(↓ 4). A horizontal above the ν in → 3 suggests that the scribe wrote $\overline{\epsilon c\phi\alpha\nu}$ for ἐσταύρωσαν.

If we use the Nestle–Aland[27] text, the average number of letters to the line can be estimated at 22–3 on the ↓ side. The restoration of the text on the → side offers some problems because there is only one line whose length can be estimated (27 letters). Margins are not preserved, except for a lower one of 2.5 cm. If we supplement the Nestle–Aland[27] text from the beginning of → 4 to the beginning of ↓ 4, there are 860 missing letters. With an average of 23/24 letters to the line and ordinary use of *nomina sacra*, this would give a single-column codex of approximately 37 lines. If so, the written area would have been *c.*10 × 24 cm. Assuming Turner's rule that the proportion of the lower margins to the upper margins is 3 : 2 (*Typology* 25), the top margin would have been *c.*1.5 cm and the height of the page *c.*28 cm. If we allow for lateral margins of 1 cm the size of the codex would have been approximately 12 × 28 cm, which falls within Turner's group 8 (*Typology of the Early Codex* 95). The whole gospel would have occupied about 82 pages. It must be noted however that, considering the size of the fragment, all these figures are very tentative.

Other papyri containing these sections of the Gospel of John are $\mathfrak{P}^{60}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$. The line-divisions of the restored text are arbitrary, for there are no surviving lateral margins.

→ . . . .

[ ].[λεγϵ]
[ται ϵ]βραϊστι Γ[ολγοθα οπου αυτον] xix 17–18
[$\overline{\epsilon c\phi\alpha}$]ν και μϵ[τ αυτου αλλους δυο]
[ ]α ϵντϵυ[θϵν]

↓ . . . .

[ ]ο̣π̣α̣ κ̣α̣ι̣ Μ̣[αρια η] 25
[Μαγδαληνη] $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ουν ϊ[δων την $\overline{\mu\rho\alpha}$] 26
[και τον μα]θητην π̣[αρϵστωτα]
[ον ηγαπα λϵ]χ̣ϵι τη $\overline{\mu\rho}$.[

→

1 The traces are so meagre that it is not possible to propose any restoration.

2 ϵ]βραϊστι Γ[ολγοθα with $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ℵ A B Θ K W $f^{1.13}$ 579. *l* 844 *pc* 𝔐 with the support of most of Lvt MSS; ϵβραιστι δϵ Γολγοθα is attested by L Ψ 33 *pc*.

3 [$\overline{\epsilon c\phi\alpha}$]ν. Also attested by $\mathfrak{P}^{66c}$ ($\mathfrak{P}^{66*}$ has $\overline{c\phi\alpha\nu}$). On the staurogram, see L. W. Hurtado's study in T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *New Testament Manuscripts* (2006) 207–26.

3–4 [ ]α εντευ[θεν. All MSS read και μετ αυτου αλλους δυο εντευθεν και εντευθεν. Spacing does not allow [εντευθεν κ]α⟨ι⟩ εντευ[θεν, and it is very difficult to think of a good restoration with an ending in alpha. [εν]α εντευ[θεν και ενα εντευθεν would be a remote possibility (cf. Mark xv 27 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο λῃστὰς ἕνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἕνα ἐξ εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ; LXX Ex xvii 12 Ααρων καὶ Ωρ ἐστήριζον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐντεῦθεν εἷς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἷς).

↓

1]ο̣π̣α̣ κ̣α̣ι̣ Μ̣[αρια. The traces are very slight. The expected text is *Μαρια η του Κλωπα και Μαρια η Μαγδαληνη*, but, at the beginning of the line, a curving trace suggests ο rather than ω. The papyrus might have read *Κλοπα* for *Κλωπα* (see Cyril, *In Ioann.* in loc. 3.89 (ed. Pusey); cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 276 f.). The reading *Κλε*]ο̣π̣α̣ cannot be ruled out, for the confusion of *Κλεοπας* (Lk xxiv 18) with *Κλωπας* is not rare (see *Synop. Script. Sacr.*, PG 28.404).

The supplement could be Μ̣[αρια or Μ̣[αριαμ. The latter is the reading of ℵ (L) Ψ 1. 33. 565. *l* 844 *pc*.

2 ι̅ς̅ is omitted by ℵ* and introduced by ℵ^{a}.

ουν with all Greek MSS; δε is the reading of ℵ^{a}.

ϊ[δων, l. ειδων.

4 μ̅ρ̣̅. The expected reading is the *nomen sacrum* μ̅ρ̅ι̅ (ι̅ς̅ is attested in ↓ 2, and spacing suggests that μ̅ρ̅α̅ was probably used in the same line), but after rho there is only a tiny trace of an oblique stroke at the base of the line, which does not suit iota, but rather alpha. αυτου after μητρι is added by A Θ *f*$^{1.13}$ 𝔐, supported by part of Lvt, the Vulgate and sy, whereas 𝔓$^{66(vid)}$ ℵ B L W Ψ 1. 565. 579. *l* 844 *pc* with the support of Lvt MSS (b e) omit it. The scribe may have skipped the iota by mistake and read μ̅ρ̅ α̣[υτου.

JUAN CHAPA

4806. Gospel of John xxi 11–14, 22–4

67 6B.14/K(2–4)b
𝔓^{122}

2.8 × 6.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century?
Plate I

There are only two other papyrus fragments containing sections of the last chapter of the Gospel of John: 𝔓^{109} (LXV **4448**) (third century) and 𝔓^{59} (P. Ness-sana II 3) (seventh century). **4806** is the first papyrus evidence to preserve verses 11 and 22.

The text is written in a rather irregular and cramped heavy upright hand, with a slight tendency for contrast between thick and thin strokes. This kind of script is difficult to date. Some of its features may suggest an early period, but some letters (especially μ, κ, and ε) may point to a hand influenced by Coptic style. In fact, the script could be described as a poor attempt at 'Biblical Uncial', made by an inexperienced scribe. It may be compared to P. Chester Beatty IV [961] (R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* ii 56), a codex of Genesis assigned to the first half of the fourth century (see **4804** introd.). However, considering its Coptic traits, a date in the fourth or fifth century is perhaps more likely.

A very narrow margin of 5 mm at the lower end of the ↓ side shows that the text belongs to the foot of the page of a codex. The average number of letters to

the line is 27 on the ↓ side and 25 on the → side. Assuming the Nestle–Aland[27] text, the number of lines missing from the end of ↓ 11 to the beginning of → 3 would have been approximately 35. This would give a page of *c.*44 lines and a written area of *c.*10 × 24 cm, which falls into Turner's Group 8 (see *Typology of the Early Codex* 95). The page would have contained about 245 words, and the whole gospel would have occupied some 64 pages. Given how often the restored text seems too short for the space, we should probably assume that the right-hand margin was not kept regular rather than infer otherwise unattested variant readings.

There is no evidence for punctuation, orthographical signs or corrections. A probable textual error occurs in → 6. There is an elision of final ε in δευτε before α in ↓ 5 and confusion of τ for θ in → 4. Iotacism (ι for ει) occurs in → 4 and 6. The *nomen sacrum* for ιησους appears twice (↓ 5, 8) ($\overline{\text{κς}}$ and $\overline{\text{ιης}}$ have been restored in ↓ 7 and → 7). The number 153 is written as a figure in ↓ 3 (see Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* 18–19; Turner, *GMAW*[2] p. 15). As lateral margins do not survive, the line-divisions of the restored text are arbitrary.

Professor Parker has pointed out that the text of **4806** is rather close to that of W (032). Although the sample is too small to conclude, he notes that some of the lacunae of the papyrus might be better filled by readings of W (see ↓ 5 and → 10) than of other manuscripts.

↓ . . . . .

[ ] Πε[τρος και ειλκυσεν το] xxi 11
[δικτυον ε]ις τ[ην γην μεστον ιχθυων]
[μεγαλω]ν $\overline{\text{ρνγ}}$ ̣κ[αι τοσουτων ον]
[των ουκ ε]σχισθη τ[ο δικτυον λεγει] 12
5 [αυτοις ο ῑ]$\overline{\text{ης}}$ δευτ α[ριστησατε ουδεις]
[δε ετολμ]α των μ[αθητων εξεταζαι αυ]
[τον συ τι]̣ς ει ειδοτ̣ε[ς οτι ο $\overline{\text{κς}}$ ε]
[στιν ερχετ]αι $\overline{\text{ιης}}$ και λ̣[αμβανει τον] 13
[αρτον κα]ι διδωσιν [αυτοις και το οψα]
10 [ριον ομοι]̣ως τουτο [ηδη τριτον] 14
[εφανερω]θη τοις μ[αθηταις

→ . . . . .

]̣κ[
]. .[22
[εω]̣ς ε̣ρ̣χ̣ομ[αι τι προς]
[σε συ μοι ακολ]ουτι εξη[λθεν ουν] 23
5 [ουτος ο λογος] εις τους α[δελφους]
[οτι ο μαθητη]ς εκινου [ουκ αποθνη]

[σκει ουκ ειπε]ν̣ δε αυτω̣ [ο ιης οτι]
[ουκ αποθνησκει] αλλ εαν α̣[υτον θε]
[λω μενειν ε]ω̣ς ερχομα̣[ι τι προς]
10 [σε ουτος εστιν] ο̣ μαθητη̣[ς ο] 24
[μαρτυρων περ]ι τουτων [ ]
[ ]. οιδαμε̣[ν]

↓

2 ε]ις τ[ην γην. This is the reading of ℵ A B C L N P W Δ Θ Ψ 33. 1241. *l* 844. *l* 2211 *al*. The Byzantine text has επι της γης, whereas D $f^{1.13}$ 565. 1424 *pc* read επι την γην.

2–3 ιχθυων μεγαλω]ν. Restored with ℵ B C, but μεγαλων ιχθυω]ν (so W, with A D L 1. 33) would be equally possible.

5 α[ριστησατε restored with most MSS. W reads αριστασθαι (l. -ε), which may be a better supplement here, considering the affinities of this manuscript with **4806** and the spacing (perhaps too long for αριστησατε).

5–6 It is not possible to tell whether the papyrus omitted ο before ῑ]η̄ς̄, here restored *exempli gratia*. This omission is attested by B (note the shared omission of ο by **4806** and B in 8: ερχεται ιησους). The same applies to δε in 6, omitted by B C.

8 ερχετ]αι ιης with B D W; ο is added before ιησους in ℵ C L Ψ 1. 33. 565. 700. 892^{s}. *l* 844. *l* 2211 *al*; ερχεται ουν ο ιησους is read by A Θ f^{13} 33 and the Byzantine text.

9 κα]ι διδωσιν with most of the MS tradition; D and three Lvt MSS (d f r^{1}), supported by some MSS of the Vulgate and sy^{s}, read και ευχαριστησας εδωκεν.

10 The line as restored seems to be too short (but see also 7). It is possible that the papyrus had δε after τουτο, as is read by ℵ L N Θ 33. 700. *l* 844. *l* 2211 *pc*. See also next note.

11 εφανερω]θη τοις μ[αθηταις. Nearly all MSS read εφανερωθη ο Ιησους τοις μαθηταις (so ℵ A (^{s} L) Θ Ψ $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐). εφανερωθη Ιησους τοις μαθηταις is read by B C D and εφανερωθη τοις μαθηταις ο Ιησους by L, a reading that cannot be excluded here. Likewise, the papyrus might have read ο ῑη̄ς̄ | εφανερω]θη τοις μ[αθηταις, even if there is no attestation for it. W omits ο Ιησους.

→

1–2 The traces are too scanty to allow any attempt at restoring the lines.

4 ακολ]ουτι (l. ακολουθει). For confusion of dentals in documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 92.

μοι ακολουθει is the reading of ℵ A B C* D W 1. 33 *pc*; ακολουθει μοι is read by C^{2} Θ Ψ f^{13} 𝔐.

5–6 Spacing guarantees that the papyrus did not have the reading of D, αδελφους και εδοξαν οτι.

6 εκινου (l. εκειν-). All MSS read εκεινος. It is surely an accidental mistake by influence of the following ουκ.

7 ουκ ειπε]ν̣ δε with 𝔓$^{59(vid)}$ ℵ B C W 33 *pc*, supported with slight variations by one Lvt MS (c) and sy^{s,p}; και ουκ ειπεν is the reading of A D Θ Ψ $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐 with the support of the Lvt tradition, the Vulgate and sy^{s}.

8–9 The supplement seems rather short for the space, but other alternative readings are not attested at this point.

9–10 Spacing suggests that the papyrus read τι προς σε, with most of the MSS tradition (ℵ^{1} A B C* W Θ Ψ f^{13} 33 𝔐, supported by part of the Lvt tradition, the Vulgate and sy$^{p.h}$). Some MSS (ℵ* C^{2} 1. 565 *pc*, supported by Lvt MSS a and e, and sy^{s}) omit it. D reads προς σε.

10–11 *ο μαθητη[ς ο | μαρτυρων περ]ι τουτων*. Line 10 as restored seems rather short. It is possible that the papyrus added *και* before *μαρτυρων*, which is also the reading of W, with B C and Origen.

11–12 *τουτων* [ ]. *οιδαμε[ν*. At this point MSS present several variants:

και ο γραψας ταυτα και οιδαμεν B D.

ο και γραψας ταυτα και οιδαμεν ℵ^{1} Θ f^{13} 33. *l* 2211 *pc*, one Lvt MS (c) and sy^{h}.

και γραψας ταυτα και οιδαμεν ℵ* A C W Ψ f^{1} 𝔐.

In the papyrus, before *οιδαμε[ν*, there is only a trace of an oblique descending from left to right that does not suit ι, but rather ⲁ or ⲗ, less likely ⲭ (we would expect some traces of the upper oblique) or ⲕ (its descending oblique is done more horizontally). The scribe may have omitted *και* before *οιδαμεν* and read *γραψας ταυτ]α οιδαμε[ν*, but even so the supplement seems short.

JUAN CHAPA

II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

4807. Sophocles, *Ἐπίγονοι*

87/110(a) 11.2 × 7.8 cm Third century
Plate III

A fragment of a papyrus roll with remains of two columns written along the fibres. Top, bottom, and right margins are lost, leaving only several line-ends of col. i, but a substantial portion of the line-beginnings in col. ii, to a minimum line-length of 7.6 cm (ii 5). A *kollesis* runs between cols. i-ii, where the intercolumnium as preserved measures *c.*2 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is a generously-spaced variation of the Formal Mixed (or 'Severe Style') type, slightly sloping to the right, with letters written separately (ει almost connected in ii 2; cf. 7), and well executed, if irregularly so. c more or less rounded (as o), yet larger, but sometimes straight-backed on the model of ε; ρ and υ both with and without finial at the bottom; o variously sized, both tiny and floating between the lines, and full-sized on the model of ε and c; θ at full height but narrow, and with a cross-stroke protruding from either side of the bowl; υ more or less upright, with different lengths of tail. ξ, φ, and ψ regularly, and υ and ρ sometimes, project downwards (but not τ). Decoration includes occasional slight finials on feet of verticals (ι, ρ, υ, ψ) and hooks on tops of obliques (α, λ, where the right element surpasses the left at the apex in both). ξ (ii 2, 10) is informally executed, with the lower component being unconnected to its horizontal top-line. Cf. IX **1174** (*GMAW*^{2} 34), XXVII **2458** (*GMAW*^{2} 32). Of objectively dated papyri, I **23** (pl. VI; Plato, *Laws* IX) is roughly similar (earlier than 295 on the basis of scribe practising imperial titulature on the back); comparable hands with assigned dates: XXXIX **2890** (pll. II and IV, Aeschin. Socr., *Miltiades*, codex, assigned to the middle of the second to end of third century), XXX **2519** (pl. VI, Antimachus, *Thebais*?, assigned to the first half of the third century), and P. Chester Beatty XI (*GBEBP* 2b; LXX, Ecclesiasticus, assigned to the early fourth century). A date in the third century may therefore be assigned; a date in the late second or early fourth centuries cannot be excluded.

Lectional signs: two *paragraphoi* for speaker change (after ii 5 and 10) and one *apostrophe* marking elision (ii 11), all by the original scribe. Elision is made tacitly elsewhere (ii 5, 8, 12); iota adscript is written in ii 11, the only place where we expect it. The text shows a relatively high rate of error: erroneous readings in ii 6 αφανοι and ii 10 ευδοξαντας (for ευδοντας), and a copying error in ii 9 κινουσοco (for κινουσιco: see note); iotacistic orthography in ii 7 φοινεικο-; correction *currente calamo* in ii 3.

Col. ii contains anapaestic lines separated into dimeters (as expected in manuscripts of this date: R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Philology* i (1968) 231–3; M. L. West, *BICS* 24 (1977) 89–94). A play of Sophocles is indicated by an overlap with an existing quotation: ii 9–10 κερκιδο[ ]ν̣[. . .] | η τους ευδο{ξα}ντας εγειρ[ ]ι overlaps with (and may be restored from) S. *inc. fab.* F 890 Radt (quoted in an ancient comment on Ar. *Pl.* 541: *στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει*). Which play of Sophocles? The manuscripts of *Plutus* have different versions of the scholion: schol. 541b, in M. Chantry, *Scholia vetera in Aristophanis Plutum = Scholia in Aristophanem* iii 4a (1994) 97: *V Σοφοκλέους τὸ ἡμιστίχιον· †ἐπειγομένων οὐ† κερκίδος ὕμνους, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει*; *E Barb ἐκ Σοφοκλέους δράματος· κερκίδος ὕμνους, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει*; *N ἐκ Σοφοκλέους δράματος* and *τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦτο*. Most scholars have assumed that the corrupt words *ἐπειγομένων οὐ* provided by the *Venetus* were part of the quotation; cf. the conjectures listed by Radt on S. F 890 (p. 573). This is now excluded by the papyrus text (already A. C. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* iii (1917) 81, and Chantry, *Scholia* p. 97, concluded that *ἐπειγομένων οὐ* belong to the ancient commentator). Pearson's conjecture *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγειρομένων*, however, leaves *οὐ* unexplained and doubles *ἐγείρω*. On the other hand, Chantry's *ἐπειγομένων τούς* does not produce good sense. Therefore, it seems likely that *ἐπειγομένων οὐ* represents a corrupt citation of the title of the drama. The most obvious correction of *ἐπειγομένων* is *Ἐπιγόνων*, a title attested for one of Sophocles' plays, which may have become *επειγονων* by itacism and then wrongly been corrected to *επειγομενων*. The same error occurs in *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 258 Allen = p. 42.33 Wilamowitz *εἶτα ἐπειγομένου*, where Joshua Barnes corrected to *Ἐπιγόνους* (the parallel is due to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones). Dramatic titles are often corrupted by similar phonetic errors; cf., e.g., S. F 19: Athen. cod. *ἐνγαι* ~ *Αἰγεῖ*; S. F 25a: Hsch. cod. *αἰγί* ~ *Αἰγεῖ*?; etc. In this case *οὐ* could go back either to an abbreviated *οὗ(τως)* (cf. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (*BASP* Suppl. 3: 1981) 74 f. s.v. *οὕτω[ς]*: *ο^{υ}*, *ου^{τ}*) or to *τοῦτο*. For similar wordings in scholia, see *schol.* Ar. *Ach.* 8a *ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου ἔχον οὕτως* (*REΓLh*); *schol.* Ar. *Vesp.* 1074a *ὁ στίχος Εὐριπίδου ἐκ Σθενεβοίας* (*VΓ^{3}LhAld*); *schol.* Ar. *Thesm.* 21 *ἔστι δὲ Σοφοκλέους ἐξ Αἴαντος Λοκροῦ* (*R*). Thus the original text could have been, e.g., *Σοφοκλέους τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐξ Ἐπιγόνων τοῦτο* or *Σοφοκλέους τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐξ Ἐπιγόνων ἔχον οὕτως*. The words *ἐξ* and *ἔχον* might have been omitted by a *saut du même au même* (*εξ επ-*, *-ων -ον*), but in any case (as J. R. Rea suggests) they are not necessary: cf. LXVII **4547** ii 63–6 *Ἀριστομένους Διονύσου Ἀσκητοῦ τουτὶ τοὐγκώμιον*.

It will be noted that Aristotle says that the 'voice of the shuttle' (*κερκίδος φωνή*) was used as a recognition device in the *Tereus* of Sophocles (*Poet.* 1454b30 = S. F 595). Nauck regarded this as a paraphrase of Sophocles F 890 *κερκίδος ὕμνους* (*TGF*^{2} p. 261 [= p. 319 Radt] on fr. 538 [= F 804]) which appears in **4807** at ii 9. But already Thomas Tyrwhitt correctly inferred that Aristotle had taken the expres-

sion κερκίδος φωνή directly from Sophocles' play (*Aristotelis de poetica liber* (1794) 162, quoting Ach. Tat. 5.5.4 f. as a paraphrase that explains the image appropriately in the play: ἡ γὰρ Φιλομήλας τέχνη σιωπῶσαν εὗρηκε φωνήν· ὑφαίνει γὰρ πέπλον ἄγγελον καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα πλέκει ταῖς κρόκαις, καὶ μιμεῖται τὴν γλῶτταν ἡ χείρ, καὶ Πρόκνης τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ τῶν ὥτων μηνύει καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἃ πέπονθε τῇ κερκίδι λαλεῖ). It is sufficiently clear that the contents of col. ii in **4807** do not suit the ἀναγνώρισις of Tereus, which was the original context of the expression κερκίδος φωνή according to Aristotle.

The use of the *paragraphoi* (as well as the content of the second column) suggests that the roll contained a whole play and not an anthology. The recitative character of the anapaests in col. ii is shown by their Attic vocalization (ii 5 σίδηρον; ii 9 σοφῆς) and regular caesura after each metron (except ii 8 and perhaps ii 12, where the caesura occurs after the first short of the next biceps, which is not exceptional; see the instances listed by D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik* (1968) 88 n. 19, and further Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 52). The *paragraphoi* may further indicate an anapaestic-recitative dialogue, possibly between the chorus and an actor or between two actors; but as the speakers seem mainly to be listing different kinds of arms and armour-making, they might be more than two sections of one chorus (*paragraphoi* are so used e.g. in cod. M in Aesch. *Septem* 875–960). Although one expects extended anapaestic sections above all near the beginning of a play (cf. *Ai.* 201–62, *Ph.* 144 ff., *OC* 135 ff.; see W. Nestle, *Struktur des Eingangs* (1930) 72–6, on the development of anapaests at the beginning of an Attic tragedy, and J. F. Davidson, *BICS* 22 (1975) 163–77, on the form of the parodos of *Ai.*), Sophocles uses them at any point of the dramatic action (cf., e.g., *Tr.* 974–1003, *Ant.* 929–43). Anapaests that include change of speaker are found near to or at the end of plays (*Ai.* 1402–20, *Tr.* 1259–78, *OT* 1297–1311, *Ph.* 1409–71, *OC* 1751–79).

Reconstruction (allowing for the relatively high degree of error in copying) allows a number of possibilities, of which the following seems to be most convincing.

The text describes preparations for war: several components of hoplite armour are mentioned (5 σίδηρον, 6 κυναῖ, 8 θωρακοφόροισι), supplemented by the chariot (11 ἅρματος), and there are indications that these are in the process of production (3 πρίστις?, 5 θήγους', 8 ὑφαντῆ[ρες, 9 κερκίδο[ς, 11 κολλᾶι with parts of the chariot). For other descriptions of marching out to battle cf. the pre-battle scene in E. *Ph.* 784–800 (with a completely different perspective, however, in emphasizing Ares, μόχθοι, and πήματα), the arming of Abradates in Xen. *Cyr.* 6.4.2, *Hell.* 7.5.20, Hermippus *Μοῖραι* fr. 47 K–A (see on ii 3), fr. 48.1 f. K–A χλανίδες δ' οὖλαι καταβέβληνται, θώρακα δ' ἅπας ἐμπερονᾶται; descriptions of such preparations seem to have been a topos. On the whole, this scenario seems preferable to a description of a post-war period amidst the disappearance of symbols of war (i.e. in ii 8–10, cf. song and music associated with peace: *Il.* 18.493–5, Theogn. 773–82, Pi. *P.* 1.1 ff.).

Apart from three fragments certainly assigned to Sophocles' *Ἐπίγονοι* (F 188–90 Radt) and three hesitantly assigned fragments (F 185–7), Philodemus explicitly refers to its plot (*De musica* I 35.31–46 Rispoli = IV 20.1–27 Neubecker, from Diogenes of Babylon fr. 84 f. *SVF* III 232.20 v. Arnim; Radt, *TrGF* IV p. 184, questions the exact meaning of the reference). The fragments of Accius' *Epigoni*, perhaps composed closely on the model of Sophocles' play (as a corrupt passage in Cicero's *De opt. gen. or.* suggests: §18), may contain further indications of the plot. Apart from these, several mythographic sources recount how Alcmaeon led the expedition of the *Ἐπίγονοι* against Thebes, that he murdered his mother Eriphyle before or after the campaign, avenging his father Amphiaraus, and refer to adventures he encountered later to purify himself from guilt and free himself from the Erinys of his mother: see in particular Asclep. Tragil. *FGrHist* 12 F 29 (cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* I 489), Diod. 4.66, Apollod. 3.80–95. However, none of these texts can be referred to the Sophoclean play with certainty.

There are treatments of the story by other dramatists (on which see Radt, *TrGF* IV 149, 184), and Sophocles himself used the myth in other plays, namely *Ἐριφύλη* and *Ἀλκμέων*. Several scholars have tried to reconstruct the argument of the *Ἐπίγονοι* from this material (F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Tragödien* i (1839) 269–78; O. Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie* (1875) 487–96; O. Immisch, *JbbClPh* Suppl. 17 (1890) 180f.; Pearson i 129–33; A. Kiso, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 207–26 = *The Lost Sophocles* (1984) 20–50, 133–9; D. F. Sutton, *The Lost Sophocles* (1984) 37–42; on all of these, see the criticism of S. L. Radt, *Gnomon* 59 (1987) 351 f.). One presupposition has been to treat *Ἐπίγονοι* and *Ἐριφύλη* as two titles of the same play, although without any positive evidence (for criticism cf. Radt, *Entretiens Fondation Hardt* 29 (1982) 188 f. = H. Hofmann (ed.), *Fragmenta dramatica* (1991) 81 f., and Sutton, *Lost Sophocles* 37). Or the *Ἐριφύλη* could have been an early play dealing with an earlier stage of the myth, i.e. the bribery of Amphiaraus and the corresponding instructions to his sons, as was suggested long ago by Jacobs (see Pearson i 132) and more recently by J. Schwarze, *JÖAI* 67 (1986–87) 54, on the basis of vase paintings. Even the trilogies *Ἐπίγονοι – Ἐριφύλη – Ἀλκμέων* or *Ἐριφύλη – Ἐπίγονοι – Ἀλκμέων* cannot be entirely excluded (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles* iii (1996) 73).

Some points, however, can be reasonably assumed. The title (assuming that *Ἐπίγονοι* is in fact the correct title: see above) attests that the expedition of the *Ἐπίγονοι* against Thebes was one subject of the play. The chorus may have consisted of soldiers belonging to them (though this is not certain: citizens of Argos are also possible). If F 187, hesitantly assigned to Sophocles' *Ἐπίγονοι*, is from this play, the murder of Eriphyle as well as a dispute about it between Alcmaeon and Adrastus could have occurred. The fragments of Accius' *Epigoni* allow for a further scenario: frr. I–II R^3 seem to point to a quarrel between supporters and opponents of the expedition (Thersander and Alcmaeon?). Amphilochus, brother of Alcmaeon, appeared on stage (fr. IV), as well as probably Demonassa, daughter of Eriphyle (fr.

xi). The murder of the mother was discussed (fr. vi). Perhaps Alcmaeon's expulsion from Argos after the murder was mentioned (fr. xvi, though corrupt).

4807 fits easily enough into what little is known of *Ἐπίγονοι*. If preparations for war are under discussion, one would certainly put the text near the beginning of the play, presumably before the parodos, or part of it (like the anapaests in the parados of *Ajax* and, especially, *Antigone*?). If the text dealt with the beginning of peace, one might expect the anapaests to have stood at the end of the expedition against Thebes. Whether this stage of the action was not achieved until the end of the play, we do not know. The anapaests would even be possible at the end of the play if the murder of the mother happened in between. F 890 (= ii 9–10) and thus all of col. ii could come from a discussion between Alcmaeon and Eriphyle about bribery and the character of women in general.

In addition to Ar. *Pl.* 541 (*στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει*), there are at least two other comic parodies of verses from Sophocles' *Ἐπίγονοι*. Like Ar. *Pl.* 541, both absurdly adapt the wording of S. F 890 (= ii 9–10), which might suggest that the scene, together with its unusual diction, was a memorable one. The first is from Aristophanes' *Ὀλκάδες*, a play *περὶ εἰρήνης*, datable to 423 BC (see Kassel–Austin, *PCG* III.2 226 f.): it contained the anapaestic tetrameter (fr. 427 K–A) *σπυρὶς οὐ μικρὰ καὶ κωρυκίς, ἣ καὶ τοὺς μάττοντας ἐγείρει*. It follows that the play (presumably *Ἐπίγονοι*) contained in **4807** must have been produced before 423 BC. Second, in Eupolis' *Ἀστράτευτοι* (of uncertain date, but produced at a time when the playwright could poke fun at those who were thought too weak to participate in war; see Kassel–Austin, *PCG* V 314), someone said *μή ποτε θρέψω παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ τοιόνδε ταῶν, ὃς τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει* (fr. 41 K–A; see p. 318 on Pyrilampes as a possible speaker). Since both fragments derive from the lexicographical tradition, their original context is unknown. Nevertheless, they give further indication that the habit of the tragic poets of styling the sounds of the loom as 'songs' was subject to parody by the poets of Old Comedy. So Aristophanes lampooned Euripides' parallel expressions *κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ* (*Meleagros*, F 528a K) and *οὐ τάδε πήνας, οὐ τάδε κερκίδος ἱστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια* (*Hypsipyle*, F 752 f.9 f. K) in his parodic cento of Euripidean choral lyric (*Frogs* 1309–22 at 1315 f.: *ἱστότονα πηνίσματα, κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας*). The three comic parodies of S. F 890 (= ii 9–10) described above, however, are different in that they all seem to poke fun at the banality of the words *ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει* and thus at Sophocles' characterization of the *κερκίς* as musical, in connection with being awakened in the morning (see note on ii 10).

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col. i

. . .
].
]αι
].
]λον
].
. . .

col. ii

. . . .
c.5]ω.[c.3]π̣..[
1–2]αγαρcτ[1–2].ωνοξεια..[
.ριcτιc.[0–1].ιουβρυ̣κου.α.[
.]υ̣ρειδα.[.]ν̣ηcπα̣cηc..[
θη̣γουcαι.[.]ναciδηρον
αφανοιδ̣..κ̣υναικ[1–2]κραν[
φοινεικοβαφειccει̣[1–2]υcιλο[
θω̣ρακοφορο̣ιciδυφαντη[
κινουcocοφηcκερκιδο[.]υ̣[
η̣τουcευδοξανταcεγειρ[.]ι
κ̣ολλαιδ'αρματο̣ς[.].[..]γα[
.].ητρονθα̣ψιδα θ̣[c.5]ο̣ν̣[
c.5]ιππ[c.3].[c.7]..[
c.5].τ.[c.11]...[
. . . .

col. i 1].̣, foot of upright 3]..̣, prima facie ɴ (diagonal and right vertical), but broader than elsewhere, and at top end of horizontal and no trace of a left vertical, ει excluded by diagonal connecting to bottom (not top) of upright 5]̣., top of upright adjoined at left by another (not preserved) stroke

col. ii 1]ω.[, lower part of upright]π̣., right part of top horizontal making a right angle with an upright; after that, unidentifiable traces .[, oblique coming down from the left, with a foot at its bottom, and another oblique, the left foot and top part of which are preserved, rising from the left and touching it nearly at the top; presumably ʌ 2 if there are two letters before]α, at least one should be very narrow, presumably ɪ].̣, traces of oblique descending from the left and upright or another oblique immediately attached to it; ɴ very likely 3 speck at top line level τιc.[, upright sloping to the right at top, ɪ suggested by spacing; depending on the width of this letter, one letter or no further letter in the following gap]..̣, traces of upright with a middle horizontal projecting to the right; ɵ suggested, but ϯ not excluded υ.α.[, unidentifiable traces between υ and α; at the end, seemingly the bottom left part of a triangle, e.g. ᗅ, ᴢ, but also compatible with ʙ, ʌ; stray ink near the top of the line 4 α.[, traces of upright ..[, lower parts of circle (ϵ, ᴏ, ᴄ, ɵ?) and of upright 5 .[, curved lower part of a letter, ϵ, ɵ, ᴏ, ᴄ possible 6 δ̣., left half of circle, possibly ϵ, ᴏ, ᴄ 11].[, traces of oblique descending from the top left and of another oblique or upright touching it almost at the top; ʌ, ᗅ, ʌ, ɴ possible 12]., oblique descending from the top left, with a hook at its foot; presumably ʌ or ʌ 13].[, right part of circle, ᴏ more probable than ᴩ]..[, top of upright and top of oblique rising to the right 14]., trace of upright .[, traces of oblique descending from the top left and of another oblique touching it at the top; ʌ, ᗅ, ʌ possible]...[, (uncertain whether these traces belong here: they are on a small separated piece) traces of the first letter unidentifiable; then upper part of upright followed by two obliques, ᴋ very probable; last, the top of a right-facing curve, ᴏ, ᴄ, ϵ, ω possible

col. i

. . .
].
]αι
]. .
]λ̣ον
].
. . .

col. ii

. . . .
c.5]ω.[c.3]π̣..[
1–2]α γὰρ cτ[1–2].ων ὀξεια..[
π̣ρίcτιc .[0–1].ιου βρυκου.α.[
.]υρει δα.[.]νηc πά̣cηc̣ ..[
θήγουc' αἴθ̣[ω]να cίδηρον.
αφανοι δὲ̣ κυναῖ κ[1–2]κραν[
φοινεικοβαφεῖc cεί[ο]υcι λό[φουc,
θωρακοφόροιcι δ' ὑφαντῆ[ρεc
κινοῦcι cοφῆc κερκίδο⌊c⌋ ὕ⌊μνουc,
ἣ τοὺc εὕδο{ξα}νταc ἐγείρ⌊ε⌋ι.
κολλᾶι δ' ἅρματοc [ἄ]ν̣[τυ]γα[
β]λ̣ῆτρόν θ' ἁψῖδαθ[c.5]ο̣ν̣[
c.5]ιππ[c.3].[c.7]..[
c.5].τ.[c.11]...[
. . . .

col. ii [A.] '. . . For . . . a sharp . . . saw (?) . . . gobbling . . . of the whole . . . sharpening the flashing iron.' — [?B.] 'And . . . the helmets . . . are shaking their purple-dyed crests, and for the wearers of breast-plates the weavers are striking up the wise shuttle's songs, that wakes up those who are asleep.' — [A.] 'And he is glueing together the chariot's rail (?) . . . and the juncture (?), the felloe . . .'

2–5 could contain one whole, or two separate main sentences; in the former case, we could also have a dependent clause followed by its main clause. 2 is a beginning (γάρ), 3 βρυκου.α presumably a participle (see n.), so that the subject of the sentence should be feminine; 2 ὀξεῖα probably refers to it. The main verb of this sentence should then be in the singular and could not be 5 θήγουc', which could be another participle in the nominative or a further main verb. One finite verb seems to stand at the beginning of 4, one subject somewhere in 2, perhaps in 3 π̣ριcτιc. The sense of the whole should be appropriate to 6ff., i.e. a description of the production (or disappearance?) of some weapon, and this seems to follow, too, from 5 θήγουc' αἴθ̣[ω]να cίδηρον. (J. R. Rea suggests preparations to stand a siege in Thebes, with a Theban chorus hobnobbing with the enemy.) If 3 π̣ρίcτιc is right and actually means 'saw' (as Lloyd-Jones suggests), the whole might give some description of the production of something (wooden components of a sword or spear? whetstones?) by saws and of sharpened swords by whetstones; e.g., δι]ὰ γὰρ cτ[υπ]έ̣ων ὀξεῖα π̣ε̣[ρᾶι] | π̣ρίcτιc ῥ̣[ο]θ̣ίου βρύκουc̣α δ̣[ίκην], | [ε]ὖ ῥεῖ δ' ἀκ̣[ό]νηc πάcηc ἔ̣ρ̣[γον] | θήγουc' αἴθ̣[ω]να cίδηρον, 'for right through the stems the sharp saw passes, gobbling like the surge, and each whetstone's work is flowing well for those who are sharpening the flashing steel'.

2]α. Demanded by metre is – or ⏑⏑. If two letters are missing and one of them should be ι (see palaeographical notes), then δι]ά, ἴc]α, ἵν]α are possible.

cτ[1–2].ων ὀξεια..[. If δι]ά is read at the beginning of the line, we could have a noun in the genitive plural; one broad or two rather narrow letters are missing, resulting in one of the metrical word shapes ⏑⏑– or – –. While δι]ὰ γὰρ cτ[έρ]ν̣ων suggests itself (cf. E. *Tro.* 156 [anap.] διὰ δὲ cτέρνων φόβοc ἄϊccεν; S. *Ant.* 639 οὕτωc γάρ, ὦ παῖ, χρὴ διὰ cτέρνων ἔχειν with Jebb's note), it does not seem

to suit the required sense. An adjective in the genitive is possible, combined with a substantive now lost in the break, e.g. *cτ[ερ]ε̣ῶν* with *λίθων* or *sim.* at the end of the verse, which would give a plausible context if the production of whetstones were the subject of these lines (cf. *Od.* 19.494 *ἔξω δ' ὡς ὅτε τις στερεὴ λίθος ἠὲ σίδηρος*; 23.103 *σοὶ δ' αἰεὶ κραδίη στερεωτέρη ἐστὶ λίθοιο*). The feminine *ὀξεῖα* may yield a suitable context if it refers to *π̣ρίστις*: 'the sharp saw' or 'the piercingly sounding saw'. Although *ὀξύς* and its compounds are mainly used metaphorically by Sophocles (see Ellendt–Genthe, *Lex. Soph.* (1872) 530 s.vv.), *ὀξύθηκτος* seems to appear in *Ant.* 1301 (an admittedly corrupt verse). However, the other feminine cases of *ὀξύς* except the genitive plural cannot be excluded.

3 *π̣ρίστις* (after which we should expect word-end) seems unavoidable (later a 'saw-fish': cf. D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (1947) 219) assuming a single word; if two, something like *τ̣ρίς τις*, *τ̣ρίς τ' ἰc-* (preferred by Radt), or even *τ̣ρίς τ' εἰc* (read *ἐc* if a consonant followed) could be considered. Lloyd-Jones suggests that *π̣ρίστις* must originally have meant a 'saw', not the saw-fish, and this indeed gives a suitable context for the whole passage; see further H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie* ii (1879) 216f. on saws, Buck–Petersen, *Reverse Index* 574, on *nomina agentis* in *-στις*, and in particular Poll. 7.113 *πρίστης ἡ καλουμένη ῥίνη*, Hsch. *π* 3295 *πρίστης· ῥίνη, πρίων* (*πρίστις* to be read in both cases?), Orib. 49.4.42; cf. further *OC* 584, where Sophocles has *λῆστιν* instead of *λήθην*. Lines 2f. might, then, describe the working on wood to produce parts of weapons; cf. E. *Telephus* F 724 K *πριστοῖσι λόγχης θέλγεται ῥινήμασιν*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.479 *ferro praefixum robur acuto*, S. Foltiny, *Schwert, Dolch und Messer*, in *Archaeologia Homerica* E 2 (1980) 238–9. Saws were also used to produce whetstones needed for sharpening many kinds of metal blades: Lloyd-Jones cites e.g. Theophr. *De lap.* 5 *γλυπτοὶ γὰρ ἔνιοι* (sc. *λίθοι*) *καὶ τορνευτοὶ καὶ πριστοί, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως ἅπτεται σιδήριον, ἐνίων δὲ κακῶς καὶ μόλις . . .* 44 *ἡ μὲν ἀκόνη κατεσθίει τὸν σίδηρον, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος ταύτην μὲν δύναται διαιρεῖν καὶ ῥυθμίζειν*; cf. further Plin. *NH* 36.51 for the cutting of marble by saws and emery, with Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie* iii (1884) 75–8; D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus: De lapidibus* (1965) 116f. In this case the production of whetstones would be another possible subject of the lines.

.[0–1].*ιου* should belong to a word that ends in *-ιος* or *-ιον* and has a short syllable before that. The metre makes *ψ* impossible, so that (unless corrupt) *θ* should be the letter before *ιου* (see palaeographical notes). Assuming *π̣ρίστις*, one solution is *ῥ̣[ο]θ̣ίου . . . δ̣[ίκην* 'like the surge': cf. A. *Th.* 85f. *δίκαν ὕδατος*, *Ag.* 1181 *κύματος δίκην*, F 13.2 Sn–K *δίκην θυέλλης*. Another possibility is that a *c* has dropped out by haplography so that *⟨c⟩π̣[α]θ̣ίου* could be read, presumably an appropriate word for the blade of a saw cutting wood or stones. At the end of the line, something corresponding to the traces might, then, be *β̣[ίᾳ*.

βρυκου.*α*.[: most probably *βρύκουc̣α*.[or *βρύκους' α*.[, participle of *βρύκω* 'eat greedily', 'gobble', 'gnash', used by Sophocles of e.g. a *νόcος* (*Tr.* 987 *ἡ δ' αὖ μιαρὰ βρύκει*; *Ph.* 745 *βρύκομαι*). This would imply that the saw is being imaged as a jaw full of teeth, as Professor Sommerstein notes, comparing Arist. *Phys.* 200b6 (which shows that saw-teeth were indeed commonly called *ὀδόντες*).

4 .]*υρει* seems to be the main verb, possibly *c]ύρει* 'draws', 'drags away', 'sweeps away' (by force; cf. S. *Eurypylus* F 210.39 R) or *φ]ύρει* 'mingles together', 'confounds' (often in tragedy, e.g., A. *Ag.* 732, 949, E. *Hec.* 496, 958, though not attested for Sophocles). However, if *ῥ̣[ο]θ̣ίου* in 3 is correct, *ε]ὖ ῥεῖ* 'is flowing well' would yield an appropriate continuation of the image; cf. Theogn. 639f. *πολλάκι πὰρ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα γίνεται εὖ ῥεῖν ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν*, A. *Pers.* 601 *ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ*, Men. fr. 349.4f. K–A *αὐτόματα γὰρ τὰ πράγματ' ἐπὶ τὸ cυμφέρον ῥεῖ κἂν καθεύδῃc ἢ πάλιν τἀναντία* (on Sol. 13.34 W, *εὖ ῥεῖν*, cf. West, *IEG* II^2 148), Pl. *Lg.* 784b2, 740d6.

δα.[.]*νης πάcης* . .[: *δ' ἀκ̣[ό]νης* 'the whetstone's' (Lloyd-Jones/West) suits the context better than, e.g., *δα̣π̣[ά]νης*. For the postponement of *δέ* if *ε]ὖ ῥεῖ* is read, cf. Denniston, *GP*^{2} 187f. The metrical shape of the lost line-end should be one of ⏑⏑–, ––, –⏑⏑. Perhaps the antecedent of *ἀκ̣[ό]νης πάcης* and the subject of *ε]ὖ ῥεῖ* is lost here, e.g. *ἔρ̣[γον* (see previous note), which suits the traces well, but one may also consider, e.g., *c̣π̣[ουδή* 'effort' (cf. LSJ s.v. *cπουδή* II.1.a).

5 *θήγουσ'*. Following the line of reconstruction given above, this should be a participle, presumably in the dative and thus referring to people doing the metal work as a preparation for battle (e.g. ἔρ̣[γον is read in the end of the preceding line; on Sophocles' use of substantive participles without article and expressing either a general or both a generic and individual reference, see A. C. Moorhouse, *The Syntax of Sophocles* (1982) 258 f.). Or the participle could be nominative, referring to something like ς̣π̣[ουδή. Another line of reconstruction could utilize it as a finite verb.

The epic phrase *αἴθωνα σίδηρον* (cf. *Il.* 4.485, 7.473, 20.372, *Od.* 1.184) occurs in drama here, in *Ai.* 147 *κτείνοντ' αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ*, and in Ar. *Pac.* 1328 *λῆξαί τ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον*. Evidence from ancient commentators on Sophocles' fondness for Homeric elements is given and discussed by Radt in Hofmann (ed.), *Fragmenta dramatica* (1991) 89–92, 106–9 (= *Entretiens Fondation Hardt* 29 (1982) 198–202, 218–22). Lloyd-Jones compares Hermippus' *Moῖραι* fr. 47.5–7 K–A *κἀγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνῃ σκληρᾷ παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος δηχθεὶς αἴθωνι Κλέωνι*, on which cf. J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie* (*Zetemata* 51: 1971) 101–5. This fragment from a play produced in 430 BC could well be considered as a parody of ii 2–5 along the lines of the present reconstruction. Schwarze, op. cit. 104, however, takes it as a parody of epic. At any rate the parallel shows that sharpening of weapons by *ἀκόναι* before battle was not unusual.

5–6 *Paragraphos* marking speaker change? The function of the *paragraphos* in papyri containing dramatic texts is usually the marking of speaker change: *GMAW*^{r2} p. 8 with examples. It might be objected that both *paragraphoi* (the other between ii 10 and 11) follow the ends of anapaestic runs and that δέ (ii 6, 11) at the beginning of a dramatic part is unusual. Thus, one might conclude that the *paragraphoi* simply mark the end of an anapaestic run, similarly to their use in lyric texts where they regularly mark the end of stanzas. However, it is theoretically possible that each speaker gets exactly one anapaestic run. Anapaests (both recitative and melic) can be variably distributed between different speakers so that a speaker gets anapaests not closed by a paroemiac (cf. S. *Ant.* 929–43, *Ph.* 1445–51) or there is speaker change even within a *μέτρον* (cf. S. *Tr.* 974–1003). Furthermore, δέ picks up and continues what has been said in the previous sentence. This most usual function of the particle occurs even in tragic dialogue when close continuation is needed or a kind of answer is expressed: cf. S. *Ant.* 518, *OT* 372, 379, 1030, *OC* 331, 1443; in lyrics, A. *Eum.* 938, 956, 977; in anapaests, *Sept.* {1072} (cf. Denniston, *GP*^{2} 162 f., on 'inceptive δέ' 172 f.). Furthermore, there are no other examples of a *paragraphos* marking the end of an anapaestic run in the few papyrus manuscripts that contain remains of at least two runs. On the contrary, where the line-beginnings of two consecutive runs are preserved, no *paragraphoi* are found apart from those marking speaker change: cf. P. Lond. Univ. Coll., ed. Milne, *CR* 49 (1935) 14 (E. *Med.* 1086–92 = Π^{8} Diggle; M–P^{3} 407), XLIV **3152** (E. *Hipp.* 225–59 = Π^{3} Diggle), and P. Mich. III 140 (S. *OC* 136–45; no *paragraphoi* at all, not even for speaker change, but parts of the chorus 136 f., 140, 143 marked by *εἴσθεσις*). On this basis, there does not seem to exist a sufficient reason to assign to the *paragraphoi* after ii 5 and 10 anything other than their usual function, namely the marking of speaker change. There is, however, no need to suppose that one of the speakers must be the chorus. This is frequently the case, but see *Ant.* 929–43, *Tr.* 974–1003 for anapaests distributed between actors.

6 *ἀφανοι δὲ κυναῖ*: *ἀφανοι* seems to be unique, although cf. a similar form in *PMG* III 502 (prayer to Helios, later than AD 300) *γεννᾶς δ[ένδρο]ν ἐλάτην, λίθον ἄφανον*, for which LSJ remark 'dub. sens.'. Preisendanz–Henrichs interpret the word as a proper name and do not translate it ('der Stein Aphanos'); Scarborough gives 'invisible' as its literal meaning (H. D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (^{2}1992) 31 n. 96). Direct derivation from *φαίνω* seems awkward from a linguistic point of view. The regular negative adjectives are *ἄφαντος* and *ἀφανής*, as expected in verbs with *α*-vocalism and lacking the *ο*-Ablaut; cf., e.g., *ἄναρκτος* and *ἀσφαλής* (see P. Chantraine, *La Formation des noms en grec ancien* (^{2}1968) 12, 429; further L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* ii (1996) 8, on adjective compounds with *-αρχος*). Thus, it seems more probable that *ἄφανον* in *PMG* III 502 is

a derivation from φᾱνός 'shining', 'bright', i.e., from the contracted Attic form of φαεινός, than of the verb φαίνω. But this word has a long first syllable, which does not fit the metre of our text. So we are faced with the choice of either accepting that Sophocles may have created a probably unique and linguistically odd adjective with α *privativum* from φαίνω presumably meaning 'invisible' and having a short second syllable, or assuming that the papyrus text is corrupt. The scribe (or his copy) could easily have mistaken λ for ν, for instance. It is thus tempting to emend to ἄφαλοι (suitable for helmets, e.g. *Il.* 10.257 f. κυνέην . . . ταυρείην, ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλοφον), and this may be the most probable correction; on φάλοι, κυναῖ, and λόφοι see H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950) 239–42, and J. Borchhardt, *Homerische Helme* (1972) 7, 10, 11, showing that helmets without φάλοι may still have λόφοι. φάλος, however, remains fairly obscure; perhaps either 'horns' of some sort (Lorimer), projecting 'bumps', or additional metal plates running around the helmet (cf. A. J. B. Wace, F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (1962) 514).

κ[1–2]κραν[. If κυναῖ is the subject of the whole sentence, one should expect a further qualification here, probably parallel to †ἀφανοι (or whatever originally stood there). Lloyd-Jones suggests some hitherto unknown compound of κράνος 'helmet', but we might equally think of a compound belonging together with κρᾱνίον 'head': e.g., κ[αὶ] κραν[οδοκοί 'and eagerly waiting', *metri gratia* for καραδοκός (cf. LSJ s.v. καραδοκέω) — though, speaking of helmets, it could also mean 'head-containing' — or κ[οὐ] κραν[οβαρεῖς 'and not weighing down the heads'; cf. A. *Ag.* 63 (anap.) πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γνιοβαρῆ. Alternatively, κ[ἄ]κρ' ἀν[έχουσαι 'and stretching upwards their peaks' (although α might be somewhat too narrow for the space); cf. *Il.* 6.470 δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα, 13.614 f. ἤτοι ὁ μὲν κόρυθος φάλον ἤλασεν ἱπποδασείης ἄκρον ὑπὸ λόφον αὐτόν, Lyc. *Alex.* 29.

7 φοινεικοβαφεῖς . . . λό[φους. φοινικοβαφής is a typically tragic, if not Sophoclean, coinage: cf. A. *Eum.* 1028 φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι, S. *Ai.* 219 χειροδάϊκτα σφάγι' αἱμοβαφῆ (with Kamerbeek's note); in prose, e.g., Xen. *Cyr.* 6.4.1 λόφον ὑακινθινοβαφῆ, Philostr. *Ep.* 1.3 φοινικοβαφεῖς χιτῶνας (cf. 1.36), Heliod. *Aeth.* 3.3.5 φοινικοβαφῆ χλαμύδα (cf. 10.25.2), Ach. Tat. 8.13.1 ταινία φοινικοβαφής, etc. For σεί[σ]υσι λό[φους, cf. Alc. fr. 388 L–P λόφον τε σείων Κάρικον, A. *Th.* 384 f. (Τυδεὺς) τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους σείει κράνους χαίτωμα, S. F 74.9 R (Hercules) τρεῖς δ' ἐπισσείων λόφους, Ar. *Pac.* 1178 τοὺς λόφους σείων. κυνῆ and λόφος are connected in S. *Ai.* 1286 f. εὐλόφου κυνῆς. The shaking of the crests was to cause fear and horror (*Il.* 16.138, *Od.* 22.124, Luc. *Dial. deor.* 19.1), but could also be an exotic image: see Hutchinson on A. *Th.* 384–6. It was parodied in Old Comedy, ridiculing men's addiction to war or their symbols of war: cf. Ar. *Pac.* 1178, *Ach.* 575, 965 (parody of A. *Th.* 384–6), but none of these can refer to our passage.

8–10 It is not unusual that weavers are responsible for producing armour for cuirassiers, since linen parts of the harness had been in use at least since Alcaeus' time (cf. fr. 357.7 L–P, with A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (1967) 90–92) and indeed were already known to the poet of the *Iliad*; see 2.529, 830 λινοθώρηξ with Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 210 f., and cf. *Archaeologia Homerica* E 1 (1977) 76, 84.

8 θωρακοφόροισι. Used of the Persian fleet at Hdt. 7.89–92, later it is found in Xen. *Cyr.* 5.3.36, 37, etc., though not in poetry. But cf. A. *Ch.* 627, E. *Supp.* 654 τευχεσφόρος; S. *Ai.* 19 σακεσφόρος; A. *Sept.* 19, *Ag.* 825, E. *Supp.* 390 ἀσπιδηφόρος; A. *Pers.* 56 μαχαιροφόρος; A. *Ch.* 769 δορυφόρος.

ὑφαντῆ[ρες (Lloyd-Jones), although the word is not attested elsewhere as an alternative to ὑφάντης. J. R. Rea observes that one expects weavers in poetry to be women. Thus, these may not be ordinary weavers, but rather producers of linen garments specifically for armoured fighters, such as are known from mediaeval times. On the tragedians' use of τηρ-compounds instead of τησ-compounds, see Wilamowitz, *BKT* V 2 (1907) 65, on E. *Telephus* F 727c.34 πεμπτῆρα (also a ἅπαξ) and, in particular, E. Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)* ii (1912) 1–50.

9–10 From the agreement of *V E Barb* of *schol.* Ar. *Pl.* 541, the supplements ὗ[μνους at the end

of 9 and ἐγείρ[ϵ]ι in the end of 10 are certain. In the middle of 10 the papyrus has τουϲευδοξαντας, which must be divided into τοὺϲ εὖ δόξαντας, whereas the scholion (and the parodies of Ar. *Pl.* and Eupolis) provides τοὺϲ εὕδοντας. The latter reading is certainly preferable both on semantic and metrical grounds: there is no parallel for the obscure expression of the papyrus text, and it bridges the caesura κατὰ μέτρον in such a way that word-end comes not earlier than after the first short of the resolved first long. This is without any parallel and would have to be regarded as corrupt even if the papyrus text were the only witness (cf. G. Hermann, *Elementa doctrinae metricae* (1816) 374 f.).

9 The κινουϲο of the papyrus cannot be correct. The easiest emendation is κινοῦϲι, the double ϲο being (as Professor Sommerstein suggests) an error of anticipation (writing the next syllable instead of the current one), facilitated by phonic and graphic similarity. For the 'stirring up' of songs see S. *El.* 17 f. λαμπρὸν ἡλίου ϲέλας ἑῷα κινεῖ φθέγματ' ὀρνίθων ϲαφῆ, E. *Supp.* 172 γεραιὰ κινοῦϲαι μέλη.

ϲοφῆϲ κερκίδο[ϲ] ὕ[μ]νουϲ. The combination of the concepts of weaving and song is attested only in choral lyric: see Pi. *N.* 4.44, fr. 179, and Bacch. 5.9 f. ϲὺν Χαρίτεϲϲι βαθυζώνοιϲ ὑφάνας ὕμνον (*sim.* 19.8). In addition, Sophocles plays with the etymological relationship of ὑφαίνω and ὕμνοϲ, an idea that probably had its origins in the fifth century and has been known so far only from the passages of Bacchylides quoted above. Such etymological word-play is typically Sophoclean: cf. A. A. Long, *Language and Thought in Sophocles* (1968) 154 f., and the examples listed by Nestle, *CPh* 5 (1910) 135 n. 1. Describing the shuttle (or, by metonymy, the loom) and particularly its sounds, with expressions from the semantic field 'song'/'music' is a fairly popular poetical device. To characterize the sounds of the κερκίϲ and their effect, Euripides used ἀοιδόϲ (*Meleagros*, F 528a K) and παραμύθια (*Hypsipyle*, F 752 f.9 f.). Similarly, Antipater *AP* 6.47.1 called the shuttle φιλαοιδόϲ; cf. 160.1 f., 174.5 f., Leonid. *AP* 6.288.4 κερκίδα τὰν ἱϲτῶν μολπάτιδα, etc., E. *IT* 222 ἱϲτοῖϲ ἐν καλλιφθόγγοιϲ. Sophocles himself calls the garment produced by Philomela on the loom and replacing her lost voice a κερκίδοϲ φωνή (*Tereus*, F 595; see introd.). Expressions such as ὕμνουϲ and ἀοιδόϲ can hardly refer to anything else than the sounds produced during the process of weaving (for an interesting suggestion on how the image of 'singing' might have originated from an analogy with the pitch of a plucked instrument, see Dover on Ar. *Ran.* 1315–16). So the speaker may well imply that the shuttle is called ϲοφή because it is a good, i.e. skilled singer; this seems to be supported by the fact that it is to the shuttle, rather than to its user, that ϲοφία is ascribed. At the same time, the poet's association of the shuttle with ϲοφία invokes the technical meaning of ϲοφόϲ (in S. *Ant.* 364 f. ϲοφόν τι τὸ μηχανόεν τέχναϲ ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδ' ἔχων, A. *Supp.* 769 κυβερνήτῃ ϲοφῷ, the seer's art *Ant.* 1059, *OT* 484, the doctor *Ai.* 581, the musician in S. F 906, where ϲοφιϲτήϲ is used of a κιθαρῳδόϲ, cf. E. *IT* 1236, Pi. *O.* 1.8 f., *P.* 10.22, G. W. Most, *Measures of Praise* (1985) 144 f.). Accordingly, there may be an additional implication that the κερκίϲ is characterized as 'wise', because there is skill in (the) weaving (ϲοφία as useful knowledge: A. F 390 ὁ χρήϲιμ' εἰδώϲ, οὐχ ὁ πόλλ' εἰδὼϲ ϲοφόϲ, E. *Ion* 598, F 490 K).

10 τοὺϲ εὕδο{ξα}ντας ἐγείρ[ϵ]ι. On Sophocles' use of participles with articles as substantives see Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 257 f. Note that these appear in the parodies of 9 10 (discussed above, introd.); see also e.g. *OT* 65 οὐχ ὕπνῳ γ' εὕδοντά μ' ἐξεγείρετε; E. *El.* 41 εὕδοντ' ἂν ἐξήγειρε; *Od.* 5.48 = 24.4 τοὺϲ δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει; Sol. 4.19 W. πόλεμόν θ' εὕδοντ' ἐπεγείρει; Call. fr. 682 Pf. τί δάκρυον εὕδον ἐγείρειϲ; The participle could here denote people who are idle: cf. *OC* 306 f. ὥϲτε κεἰ βραδὺϲ εὕδει, κλύων ϲοῦ δεῦρ' ἀφίξεται ταχύϲ, and καθεύδω in A. *Ag.* 1357, E. *Ph.* 634 (see Jebb's and Kamerbeek's notes on S. *OC* 306 f., and Collard on E. *Suppl.* 1147b–49), or people who sleep late and have the privilege or leisure to be awakened by people already working, weaving, etc. It is unclear whether there is some special need for the sleepers to be awake, under the circumstances, so that this phrase (and the preceding two lines) would describe what is happening, exceptionally, at present (in a critical situation, the linen-armourers are working night and day), or whether it just describes what normally happens (weavers typically start work very early in the morning).

11 κολλάω and its cognates are regularly used for the chariot; cf. *Il.* 4.366, 19.395, E. *Hipp.* 1225.

After ἄρματος, probably [ἅ]ν̣[τυ]γα 'rail': cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 326; *Archaeologia Homerica* F (1968) 15 f., 104. For the making of chariots, see Blümner, *Technologie* ii (1879) 324–6. At line-end perhaps τέκτων, the appropriate craftsman for a chariot (*h.* Ven. 12); cf. ἁρματοπηγός, *Il.* 4.485, etc.

12 If the caesura were regular, β]λ̣ήτρόν θ' ἀψῖδ' ἀθ[should be the most probable word separation (but ἀψῖδα θ' is not to be excluded); i.e. βλῆτρον seems to be connected to [ἅ]ν̣[τυ]γα by τε as a second object of κολλᾶι. The meaning of this rare word (translated above as 'juncture') is highly uncertain. In *Il.* 15.677 f. it is used of a device connecting several sections of Ajax' pike, presumably a kind of pin; cf. Janko *ad loc.* Hesychius connects it with the chariots' wheels, their parts, and the fastening of them and the axle (β 724): βλήτροισι· τῆς ἁμάξης τροχοί, σφῆνες, ἐμβλήματα, οἱ δὲ γόμφους καὶ συμβολὰς ἀξόνων (cf. schol. *b* (= *BCE*^{3}) *T Il.* 15.678b βλήτροισι· τοῖς συμβλήμασι καὶ συνεμπλοκαῖς; Apollon. Lex. 51.25 f.). Since Sophocles uses the word in the singular, it evidently cannot mean the wheels here, but must describe either a component to be attached to the chassis of the chariot (like the ἄντυξ) or a tool to be used to fasten something. Thus there seem to be three possibilities for the reference, all of which can be illustrated by chariots depicted on archaic and classical vase paintings. (i) Breastwork, similar to wickerwork; cf. *Arezzo* 1460 (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (1942) 791), *London Br. Mus.* E 224 (Beazley, op. cit. 831). (ii) A leather strap used for connecting chassis and axle; cf. *Rome Villa Giulia* 2491 (Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) 7, 80–84 with pl. xx.1). (iii) Strut bridging the distance between the rail and the chassis; cf. already the 'François' vase (*Florence Arch. Mus.* 4209; Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (1956) 76 no. 1). The singular and the verb κολλάω might exclude the strap; the probable connection with the ἄντυξ could suggest the strut.

Thus we cannot tell for certain whether ἀψίς stands for the whole wheel or only its outer part, i.e. the felloe; see in general West on Hes. *Op.* 426. Since the speaker describes a chariot and not a cart as Hesiod does, one might rather think here of the rim of the wheel. The next word beginning with ἀθ[might, then, have been ἄθ[ραυστ]ον presumably meaning here 'without breaking it': cf. *schol. BDEGQ* Pi. *P.* 5.64 ἄθραυστον καὶ ὑγιᾶ τὸν δίφρον ἤγαγες; S. *El.* 745 ἔθραυσε δ' ἄξονος μέσας χνόας; A. *Pers.* 196 καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον; E. *Supp.* 691 τῶν δὲ θραυσθέντων δίφρων; [E.] *Rh.* 118 μὴ θραύσαντες ἀντύγων χνοάς.

13]ιππ[. We might have ἵππ[, or alternatively a compound in -ιππο-, in either case appropriate to the mention of parts of the chariot in 11–12 (here with a verb for yoking?), if the *paragraphoi* are any indication of grouping of verses, or to a continuation from 10 of the description of preparations for battle.

CHR. MÜLKE

4808. On Hellenistic Historians

100/113(a) 10 × 34.5 cm Late first/second century
Plate IV

Parts of two columns to full height, written along the fibres (the back is blank). Upper margin preserved to 5 cm, lower to 6.4 cm (a ratio of approximately 4 : 5; see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 132); intercolumnium *c.*2 cm. Column ii had 35 lines, with a written height of 23.3 cm; lines of 18–21 letters (to judge from the certain supplements in col. i), with a width of *c.*7–7.5 cm. This column-height is not unexpected, especially for a prose text and an 'informal' hand (Johnson, op. cit. 120–25); the column-width too corresponds to the expected range for 'informal' hands (ibid. 101–4). The depths of the upper and lower margins make the roll unusually tall (ibid. 141–3).

The hand certainly can be classified as 'informal'. It is round and approximately but only approximately bilinear; the upright of ϕ projects well above and below (whereas ϯ is curtailed), the upright of ρ a little below. The basic forms are circular and square. The feet of uprights often carry a half-serif to the left, horizontal or angled upwards. α in the sharp-nosed form (the two left-hand obliques in one movement, sometimes with a small loop at the nose). ε often has the cap in a separate movement. η and π have the right upright strongly curved. κ sometimes has its arms join to the right of the upright. μ splayed, in two movements? ξ in the capital form, three parallels of which the second shorter. υ with its top as a separate, sometimes lop-sided, cup. The informal look is reinforced by ligaturing (some horizontals reach out to touch the following letter), and by an inconsistency especially in the size of individual letters. The line-ends too are irregular, but the scribe has done something to even them by squashing letters (i 4, 22, 31) or adding horizontal strokes as line-fillers (clear in i 2, 7).

Dated examples of this manner are: *GLH* 10c (AD 66), 11a (documentary verso with a date of AD 100/1), 14 (*Paeans*), second hand (mid-ii?). This is a reasonably svelte example, though not nearly so well written as LXVIII **4640**. We should assign it to the late first century or more likely the earlier second century. However, this is a manner that covers centuries (cf *GMAW*^{2} 55–6), whether or not one regards the serifs as of major importance.

The copyist marks a new section by blank line-end (i 17) and forked *paragraphos* with ἔκθεσις (ii 20–21). He punctuates by high stop (i 11, 24, 28), written above the line (but by the first hand?); in col. ii the stop takes the form of a short oblique (28), an angle like a modern circumflex (31), and possibly a high comma (13) — all without *paragraphos*. No accents are to be seen, and only one breathing (i 23 οἷς); elision goes unmarked i 7, 12 (*scriptio plena* ii 9); diaeresis on initial iota i 10 and 34. Iota adscript written i 7 (by corrector), ii 4; omitted i 3, ii 10?, 12. The visible corrections (i 7, ii 33) could be by the original hand.

This unknown prose-work deals summarily with a series of Hellenistic historians. It seems to be composed in sections, marked by paragraphing (blank line-end i 17; *paragraphos* and ἔκθεσις ii 21); to judge from ii 21 the new section began in asyndeton. At least three sections are preserved. (*a*) i 1–17 handle Onesicritus (1–2), Chares (2–9), and Clitarchus (9–17). These wrote histories of Alexander. (*b*) i 18 ff. concern Hieronymus of Cardia, and probably he is the subject of the whole passage to ii 20. His history began with the death of Alexander, and went down at least to the death of Pyrrhus (272 BC). (*c*) ii 21 begins a section on Polybius, which probably continued down to the foot of the column and beyond. His history began from 220 BC. Broadly speaking, this structure corresponds to the conventional distinction between Alexander, his *diadochoi*, and their *epigonoi*; and the historians in each section, with the possible exception of Clitarchus, had played some part in the events they described, a point on which the author lays great weight (i 21–4, ii 4 ff.?, ii 23).

What kind of work was this? It might be a simple catalogue (though more than a simple list) of historians, with summary comment; it might in theory form part of a larger historical work, either as a prefatory list and evaluation of sources or as a justification for rewriting the history of the period. For the latter, compare for example Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.5.4. The former seems to us much more plausible: the rough-and-ready style strongly suggests a handbook. Yet, if this was a handbook, what else did it contain? Individual authors get pretty short shrift; even if it began with Herodotus (or Hellanicus), the historians will hardly have filled a roll. Perhaps this was a chrestomathy of the sort exemplified by X **1241**, which includes the list of Alexandrian librarians. Perhaps it was an elementary guide to Greek literature in general, a list of classic works with summary judgments (of the kind that Quintilian constructed, much more elegantly, as a reading-list for orators, *IO* 10.1.46 ff.). Perhaps, on the other hand, what we have here is not a book, but an individual's short notes on Hellenistic historiography. That the author came from Egypt could be argued from the unmediated reference to the *katalogeion* and to Philopator *tout court* (i 13, 16).

Quintilian's list has partial parallels in the Greek tradition: Professor D. A. Russell refers us to Dion. Hal. περὶ μιμήσεως 3 (Opusc. II pp. 207–10 Usener–Radermacher) and πρὸς Πομπήιον Γεμῖνον 3 ff. (II 232 ff. UR); Hermog. περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου 2. These lists recognize the same canon: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus, Theopompus. Like Quintilian, their authors are interested in style. Unlike Quintilian, they cut short in the fourth century BC. Quintilian adds Clitarchus; but where our papyrus continues with Hieronymus and Polybius, he leaves a significant gap until (in his view) historiography revives with Timagenes. Occasionally they refer also to reliability (Quint. *IO* 10.1.74). None of them contains the sort of biographical information that our papyrus attaches to Hieronymus and Polybius. On the canon in general, see R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica* (Pisa 1992) 250 ff.

The text conveys some new information: about Chares' treatment of Parmenio (i 8–9), about the career and date of Clitarchus (13–17), about the early career and age of Hieronymus (ii 3–8, 14–15). The question of genre may affect our estimate of the work's reliability (the list of librarians in **1241** contains at least two mistakes of chronology). At the same time, its author asserts standards of judgment that Polybius himself would have endorsed: only sober truth (i 4–11) and personal experience (i 21, ii 23–7) make a historian useful (i 19?, 32, ii 19?) to his reader.

At an earlier stage this text was transcribed and discussed by all three named editors; the redaction printed here has been made by Parsons, who takes responsibility for any mistakes. He owes a special debt to Dr R. A. Coles, who checked the transcriptions in detail and removed several false readings.

]. μ[. .]. .

col. i

]. ουστηςγεγονωςδιο
]. ουστουκυνοςχαρης-
]προστωκαιαυτοςπολ
]. πεψευςθαιπλειστεγαρ
]ξενικωτεροναφηγη
]κακοηθιανεμφαινει
]. νεπαυτ[[ο]]ηι φωρα‘τους—
]. ιπαρμενιωναμελαι
]. λειταρχοςδεκομπω
]με. καιαυτοστηνϊc
]ανγεγραφεν·αμεμ
]. δε. []τιντηνδιαθε[.]. [ ]
]. νε[.]δεκαιεπιτουκ[
]. γει[. .]καθαφηςιν. [
]πο[.]. αιδιδασκαλος[ ] [
]το. [.]ιλοπατοροστ. [ ]
]. . [ ] *vac.*
]μο. [. . . . .]διαδοχου[.]
]. c. [. . . .]. ιμοςςυ. [ ]
]. . [. . . .]. ρκαλος[ ]
]ος[. . .]. μπρακτος[ ]
]ετ. καιγαρπεριτου[ ]
]εγραψενοίςςχ[. .]. [
]κολουθησεν·κ[
]ονδιαιτητην[. .].
]. ρε. χεναυτ[
]προσχαριν . . . [. .].
]ραψας·καιειμη
]cρητορειαισηδε
]μενγαρ. [. . .].
]. . στο . . [. . . . .]θους
]. . ιωφελιας[.]ης
]νουδενος[.]. .
]ϊστορικων[
]. υνε[

col. ii

. . .]ετοπ[
. . .]νεα. [
πρωταμε. [
τωιγαρσυν[
λεξανδρου. [
τεκαιεικος. [
τωνπαρε[
λουσπιστος[
ταδεαντι. [
τωπολλαστ[
α. ειταδημ[
. .]. ονωτω. [
. [ ]. α. καιμ[
υπερταενε. [
ζησενετη[
γμασωφρος. [
εξωνπαντω[
νεσωστω[
μοςσυνγρα[
. [ ]ουδαιο. [
. [. . .]βιοστω[
. . .]ουταγματ[
. .]αυτοσεντ. [
σινγεγονεκα[
συνεστρατε. [
πτηστων . . . [
νετοκαιφιλα[
γεγραφε·πολυ. [
ροσδεκαιεν. [
ροσκαιμαλι. [
πολειτικοις·κ[
. ολυμαθεσδ[
. [.]μημονα‘. [
το[. .]ανπερ. . ε[
αλλακαιπε. . . [

col. i

ἀ]κουστὴς γεγονὼς Διο-
γέ]νους τοῦ Κυνός. Χάρης
δὲ] πρὸς τῷ καὶ αὐτὸς πολ-
λ'] ἀπεψεῦσθαι, πλεῖστα γὰρ
. . .] ξενικώτερον ἀφήγητ-
ται], κακοηθίαν ἐμφαίνει,
οἶ]ον ἐπ' αὐτῆι φωρᾶι τοὺς
πε]ρὶ Παρμενίωνα μελαί-
νει.] Κλείταρχος δὲ κομπω-
δῶς] μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἱστ-
ορί]αν γέγραφεν, ἄμεμ-
πτο]ς δ' ἐστὶν τὴν διάθε[σι]ν.
. . .]. νε[.] δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κ[
. . .]. γει[. .] καθά φησιν Φ[ί-
λιπ]πο[ς] καὶ διδάσκαλος [ ]
. . .] τοῦ [Φ]ιλοπάτορος τ. [ ]
. . .]αι [ ] *vac.*
Ἱερώνυ]μος [ὁ περὶ] διαδόχου[ς]
γράψ]ας .[. . . .]. ιμος συ. [ ]
. . . .]. .[. . . .]. ρκαλος[ ]
. . . .]ος[. . .] ἔμπρακτος [ ]
. . . .]ετ. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τού-
των] ἔγραψεν οἷς χ[. .]. [
ἐπη]κολούθησεν· κ[
. . .]ον διαιτητην[. .].
. . .]αρεσχεναυτ[. . . . .]
. . .] πρὸς χάριν. . .[. .].
. . . . .]ραψας· καὶ εἰ μη
. . . . .]ς ῥητορείαις ηδε
. . . . .]μεν γὰρ .[. . .].
. . . . .]. . στο. .[. . . . .]θους
. . . .]. αι ὠφελίας[.]ης
. . . .]ν οὐδενὸς λ[.].
. . . . .]ν ἱστορικῶν [
. . . . .]. υνε[

col. ii

. . .]ετοπ[
. . .]νεα. [
πρωταμε. [
τωι γὰρ συν[*c.*10 Ἀ-
λεξάνδρου. [
τε καὶ εἴκοσι[
των παρε[
λουσπιστος[
ταδε Ἀντιγ[ον
τω πολλαστ[
α. ειτα Δημ[ητρι *c.*5 Ἀν-
τι]γόνω τω. [
. [ ]. α. καιμ[
ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνεν[ήκοντα ἔ-
ζησεν ἔτη [*c.*5 παράδει-
γμα σωφροσύ[νης *c.*7
ἐξ ὧν πάντω[ν
νεσωστω[
μος συγγρα[φεὺς καὶ ἀνὴρ
σ[π]ουδαῖος [
Π[ολύ]βιος τω[
. . .]ου ταγματ[
. .]αυτος ἐν το[ῖς πράγμα-
σιν γέγονε κα[ὶ Σκιπίωνι
συνεστράτευ[σε καὶ αὐτό-
πτης τῶν πλέ[ίστων ἐγέ-
νετο καὶ φιλα[λήθως συν-
γέγραφε· πολυμ[αθέστε-
ρος δὲ καὶ ἐν . [
ρος καὶ μάλισ[τα ἐν τοῖς
πολειτικοῖς· κ[
πολυμαθὲς δ[
. [.]μημονα'έ'. [*c.*9 ἱσ-
το[ρί]αν περι. ε[
ἀλλὰ καὶ περι. [

Col. i

Traces to left in upper margin (second hand):]̣μ[...]̣, first perhaps ο or ω 1]̣, right-hand end of high horizontal or oblique just above letter-tops; perhaps further ink from left touching ο near base 2]̣, upright hooked to right at foot 4]̣, lower part of oblique descending from left to right 7]̣, right-hand arc of circle (ο?) 8]̣, short upright trace in upper part of line 9]̣, tip of rising oblique level with letter-tops, and perhaps foot of descending oblique touching foot of λ 10 με̣, upright to right of gap 12]̣, short oblique trace descending from left to right, level with letter tops, below at line-level end of lower curve adhering to δ (c?) ε̣[, left-hand arc of circle]̣[, speck level with letter-tops 13]̣, ink at half-height (edge of circle?) 14]̣, speck at line-level ̣[, flattened left-hand arc at half-height 15 [̣]̣, speck level with apex of α c[, a further curving stroke below the cap of c: a simple redrawing, rather than an intrusion from the next letter? 16 ̣[, top of oblique descending from left to right, seriffed foot at line-level below ̣[, ε or ο? 17]̣., first, part of oblique descending from left to right, perhaps top of rising oblique joining from left at half-height; second, top of upright; short blank before following lacuna 18 ̣[, upright traces on edge 19]̣, shallow oblique descending from left to right to touch c at line-level ̣[, upright, oblique descending leftwards from its top but crossed by another oblique rising from left to right (κ?)]̣, ϻ damaged at left? left-hand element descends at a flatter angle than expected, but cf. initial μ in 30 ν̣, upright ink in lower part of line 20]̣ρ, trace from left (thin horizontal?) just below top of ρ 21]̣μ, thin horizontal touching μ just below the top 22 τ̣, two points, one above another, on edge at half-height (possibly π, but then problem with spacing) 23 c̣χ[, c overwritten on sinuous oblique descending from left to right (scribe began to write χ and then corrected it to c?)]̣[, comma-shaped trace on single fibre 25]̣, speck 26]̣ρε̣, first, end of horizontal or oblique from left, joining ρ at mid-height; last, two points, one above another, in middle part of line 27 ...[, foot of upright; angular lower arc; ink at one-third height (together τ̣ϡ̣?)]̣, low tip of horizontal or diagonal 30 ̣[...]̣, first, top of upright or steep oblique sloping down to right; last, complex ink (possibly dislocated ε) 31]̣.c, horizontal trace near line-level, from end short oblique sloping down to join foot of upright (]ϡ̣ι̣c?) το̣.., first, foot of upright with angular serif; second, oblique trace at line-level, rising to right, perhaps intersected at tip by upright from above 32]̣., horizontal trace just below top level; then ϡ rather than ϡ c̣[, the upper curve extended downwards and the lower curve upwards so that the right-hand side is nearly closed; but apparently c alone, not c plus the upright beginning of the next letter 33]̣, trace from letter-top 35]̣, upper right-hand arc, c or ο

Col. ii

2]ν̣, first upright lost, but oblique too straight for αι or the like? ̣[, top left of descending oblique (γ, χ? but if the latter, one should see the lower left part) 3 ̣[, upright, ink joining at top to right, horizontal or oblique (fibres lost just above)? 5 ̣[, perhaps foot of oblique rising to right 6 ̣[, upright (ι or less likely π? too close for τ) 9 ̣[, left-hand end of high horizontal, upright ink below (γ, less likely π?) 11 α̣., lower part of upright or left-hand arc on edge 12]̣., right-hand end of high horizontal joining ο ω̣[, left-hand end of high horizontal joining ω 13 ̣[]̣α̣., first, dot at line level; then long horizontal just below letter-tops (ink at line-level is the looped left-hand junction of ϡ); last, upright followed by small right-hand arc at upper level 17 εξ, ϫ much smaller than in ii 5, and smudged or overwritten, but there is too much ink in the middle for ϫ and too much of a horizontal base for χ 20 ̣[, shallow left-hand arc αιο̣[, parts of left-hand arc on edge 21 ̣[, π? or τ plus upper left-hand arc? 23]α̣, or possibly λ or ϻ ̣[, left-hand arc, then more ink to form a single wide loop (ο? ω?) 25 ̣[, seriffed foot of upright 26 ν...[, high horizontal, top of upright joining towards left, more ink below right-hand end; then point higher than letter-tops (top of diagonal descending to right?); then

upper left-hand arc very high in line 28 .[, curving oblique rising from left to right 29 .[, τ or left-hand part of π 30 .[, left-hand arc, no sign of cross-bar 32 .ο, left-hand tip of high horizontal 33 .[, foot of upright α'ϵ'.[, upright, more ink to right on edge at mid-height 34 ρ..ϵ, upright?, then high horizontal trace joining top of upright (all together making ʙ?) 35 ...[, letter-feet only: seriffed foot of upright; another higher; point level with that

'[Onesicritus] . . . who had been a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic. Chares, in addition to the fact that he himself also told many lies, for very many things are narrated in an [even] stranger way, shows malice; for example, you catch him blackening Parmenio and his friends. Clitarchus himself also wrote his history in a boastful vein, but he is faultless in his composition. He also became [head of the *katalogeion*?], as Philippus says, and [dies after becoming?] tutor of Philopator.

'Hieronymus who wrote about the Diadochi was a . . . historian and a gentleman (?). . . experienced . . . since indeed he wrote about those things that he followed closely. . . mediator . . . he offered himself (?) . . . writing . . . in favour . . . , and if he did not take pleasure in speeches, [something which is alien to] true history (?) and [any kind of] utility . . . [he would not be inferior] to any other historians . . . (col. ii 14) . . . he lived over ninety years, [presenting] an example of sobriety . . . From all of which [it will be clear] that he was a [useful?] historian and a good man.

'Polybius, from the . . . order, himself took part in affairs and went on campaign with [Scipio] and was an eye-witness of most things and wrote them up truthfully. And he was more knowledgeable in . . . and especially in politics . . . knowledgeability . . .'

Col. i

We cannot explain the traces in the top margin (all but the last on vertical fibres, as Dr Coles observes): too long and too far left to be a column-number.

1–2 Onesicritus (FGrH 134; for his relation with Diogenes see T 1–3, 5). The note on him began in the preceding column. Whom else did that contain? There was a long list to choose from: see for example Plut. *Alex.* 46. The repeated *καί* (3, 10) shows that Onesicritus, Chares, and Clitarchus were linked as dishonest to some degree. Our writer may have put all his Alexander-historians in the same boat (Strabo 15.1.28 *πάντες . . . τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπεδέχοντο μᾶλλον*), or chosen some as more reliable, as Arrian chose Ptolemy and Aristobulus (*Anab.* prol.), before listing the unreliable.

2–9 Chares (FGrH 125).

4 *ἀπεψεῦσθαι*: a very rare verb (in a similar sense Jos. *BJ* 4.146, where however Dindorf emended *ἀπ-* to *ἐπ-*), but we do not see how else to divide the letters. The initial traces certainly seem best suited to the long sloping back of ʌ; but there is unexplained ink above, which might be the remains of a suprascript or overwritten correction.

5 ...]. If the general shape of the sentence is rightly reconstructed, and since the space is too short for e.g. *φιλο*]*ξενικώτερον* or *εἰς τὸ*] *ξενικώτερον*, we should fill the gap with a short independent word: (*a*) *οὖν* would emphasize *γάρ*; see Denniston, *GP*^{2} 447 (2); (*b*) *καί* or *ἔτι* would emphasize *ξενικώτερον*.

ξενικώτερον: so e.g. *schol.* Eur. *Rhes.* 36, p. 329.7–8 Schwartz [= Mnaseas fr. 22 Cappelletto] *Μνασέας δὲ ξενικώτερον ἀφηγεῖται τὰ περὶ Πᾶνα.*

5–6 *ἀφήγη*|[*ται*] suits the space better than -[*cατο*]. Middle or passive?

6 *κακοηθίαν*: Arist. *Rhet.* 1385b20 *τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἅπαντα.*

7 *οἷ*]*ον* 'as for example': or *ὅc*]*ον* 'to the extent that'? The latter a little longer. There is a general problem about the space at line-beginnings. These supplements would be more or less in line with the certain supplement in 2. Yet other apparently certain supplements project one letter further to the left (8) or even two letters further (9, 11, 12). This could be explained if the column had a very sharp batter (much sharper than col. ii); but in that case the reverse difficulty touches plausible supplements

in the lower half of the column. Perhaps it all arises from the inconsistency of the copyist; in col. ii some lines have their initial letter substantially enlarged, others do not.

ἐπ' αὐτῆι φωρᾶι: the first hand wrote *επαυτοφωρα* (by mistake for *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρωι*), then crossed out *ο* and wrote *ηι* above, then added *ι* after the final *α*. (The correction might be due to a second hand, but the ink and pen-thickness look very like the original scribe's.) Pollux 8.69 records *ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ φωρᾷ*; DL 1.96 has *ἐπὶ τῇ φωρᾷ* in a slightly different sense. Perhaps we should correct the papyrus text to *ἐπ' αὐτῆι ⟨τῆι⟩ φωρᾶι*. But note Hesych. α 8484 *αὐτοφωρία· τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ φωρᾷ* (*-φορ- bis* MS, corr. H. Stephanus).

8 *Παρμενίωνα*: this detail seems to be new, for Chares; it has been argued that Callisthenes shows the same hostility.

9–17 Clitarchus (FGrH 137). For 9–12 cf. T 6 = Quint. *IO* 10.1.74 *probatur ingenium, fides infamatur.*

9–10 *κομπω|[δῶς]* suits the space better than *-[δη]*.

12 *διάθε[σι]ν*. For the meaning, 'composition' or 'disposition', the presentation of the material as against the material itself, see e.g. Polyb. 2.61.1; 34.4.1.

13ff. There is a chronological problem here. Clitarchus is normally dated to the late fourth century; and certainly in this papyrus he shares a section with Onesicritus and Chares, both of whom took part in Alexander's campaigns. What then had he to do with Philopator (16), if that refers to Ptolemy IV, who was born *c.*244 and ruled 221–204 BC?

13–14 Assuming that *διάθε[σι]ν* is complete in line 12, 13 begins a new word and probably a new sentence. Consider therefore *γέγ]ονε[ν] δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κ[*, where *γέγ]ονε[ν]* fits better than *ἐγ]ένε[το]*, both for the initial space and for the first trace. As continuation *ἐπὶ τοῦ κ[α|ταλ]ογεί[ου]* seems palaeographically plausible. In Egypt, at least, the word denotes a record office; the *katalogeion* in Alexandria appears frequently in documents of the Roman period, when it served also as the office of the *archidikastes*. Mentions in Ptolemaic documents are rare; see P. Heid. IX 429 introd. Clitarchus was an Alexandrian (T 12, assuming that the text of Philodemus is correctly read): was he then head of the Alexandrian record-office?

14–15 *Φ[ί|λιπ]πο[ς*. Philip of Megara is quoted (T 3) for the information that Clitarchus was a pupil of Stilpo. The problem returns: if this Clitarchus is the historian, and if Stilpo is connected with Ptolemy I, how did the historian live long enough to be involved with Ptolemy IV?

15 *διδάσκαλος*. On the face of it, Clitarchus is stated to have been 'teacher' of (the future) Ptolemy IV Philopator: i.e. not earlier than *c.*234 BC, if Ptolemy was born *c.*244. The same word recurs in X **1241** ii (see FGrH 241 T 7), the list of Alexandrian librarians, which states that Apollonius Rhodius was 'teacher' of the first [normally emended to 'third'] Ptolemy, Aristarchus of Philopator's children [sometimes emended to Philometor or Epiphanes]. No such note is attached to Eratosthenes, which goes against the assumption that it was he who acted as 'teacher' to the future Philopator (see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) ii 477 n. 127).

15–17 Perhaps *καὶ διδάσκαλος [γεγο|νὼς] τοῦ [Φ]ιλοπάτορος τε|[λευτ]ᾶι*. (The cap of final *ς* in *διδάσκαλος* is double; we have assumed that this is a redrawing by the scribe, not a leftward extension from the next letter.) The final verb, in the present tense, recurs constantly in the potted biographies of the *Suda*. However, even if this represents the original sense, *[γεγο|νώς]* makes a bad supplement, since *γεγο* would have to be written very small to fit the space (compare 31 *]θους*, but there the rules would not allow the four-letter group to be divided over the line-end).

To sum up: this passage could be reconstructed to provide two new pieces of information about Clitarchus: that he headed the *katalogeion* (in Alexandria), and that he taught Ptolemy Philopator. His death therefore fell after *c.*234 BC; if he lived to be eighty, this puts his birth *c.*310 BC; if this is so, he cannot have been a contemporary witness to the campaigns of Alexander. This runs directly counter to the dating found in most handbooks; it would allow Tarn's conclusion that Clitarchus was writing

*c.*287–260 (W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (1948) ii 1–133). For a review of the (scanty) evidence and the scholarly argument, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 717 n. 3, and most recently L. Prandi, *Fortuna e realtà nell'opera di Clitarco* (*Historia* Einzelschrift 104: 1996).

18 – ii 20 Hieronymus of Cardia (FGrH 154; Jane Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* (1981)). What can be seen of the details suggests that he occupied the whole text down to ii 20.

18–19 *ὁ περὶ*] *διαδόχου*[*ς*| *γράψ*]*ας*. T 3 = Diod. 18.42.1 *ὁ τὰς τῶν Διαδόχων ἱστορίας γεγραφώς*. One might expect the article with *διαδόχους*; but if we replace *περί* with *τούς*, it seems that we must find a different verb in 19.

19–22 We had thought of *κ*[*αὶ ὠφ*]*έλιμος συν*|[*γραφεὺς καὶ ἀν*]*ὴρ καλὸς* | [*κἀγαθ*]*ὸς* [*καὶ*] *ἔμπρακτος* | [*ἐγέν*]*ετο*. But (i) *ὠφ*]*έλιμος*, though plausible in itself (i 32; cf. ii 17–19 note), does not properly suit the traces, which more suggest]*μιμος*; *νό*]*μιμος* could be considered, cf. Diod. 5.2.4 *οἱ νομιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων*, but looks a letter short. (ii) We are not sure how to accommodate the first faint traces in 20 to the proposed reconstruction. 21 could refer to Hieronymus' military experience (T 2); cf. Diod. 13.102.1 *τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον* (30.3.1 *ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις*) *ἔμπρακτος*.

23 *ϛχ*[. .]. [: first letter overwritten, apparently *ϲ* rather than *ϵ*; the scribe probably began to write *χ* (skipping the second of two consecutive sigmas), then corrected himself. Doubtfully we suggest *ϛχ*[*εδό*]*ν*; cf. Jos. *BJ* 1.327 *ἠκολούθει ϲχεδόν*: 'which he followed closely'? or 'which as a general rule he followed'?

24–6 *κ*[*αὶ ἑ*|*αυτ*]*ὸν διαιτητὴν* [. .]. | [. . *π*]*αρέϛχεν*? or *π*]*αρέϛχεν αὐτ*[*όν*? Then . . . *πρὸς χάριν ἱϛτ*[*ορί*|*αν συνγ*]*ράψας*? For accusations of bias, see Paus. 1.9.8 (= F 9) *ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι*, 1.13.9 (= F 15) *ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶϲα ἐϲ χάριν συγγράφειν . . . ἥ που πολλή γε Ἱερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐϲ ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου γράφειν* (where 'Antigonus' is clearly Gonatas).

28–34 Cf. Diod. 20.1.1 *τοῖϲ εἰϲ τὰϲ ἱϲτορίας ὑπερμήκειϲ δημηγορίαϲ παρεμβάλλουϲιν ἢ πυκναῖϲ χρωμένοιϲ ῥητορείαιϲ δικαίωϲ ἄν τιϲ ἐπιτιμήϲειεν*. On this basis we could reconstruct something on the lines of *καὶ εἰ μὴ* |[29][*πυκναῖ*]*ϲ ῥητορείαις ἥδε*|[30][*το, τάδε*] *μὲν γὰρ ἀ*[*λλό*|[31]*τρι*]*α ἱϲτορί*[*ϲ ἀλη*]*θοῦϲ*| [32][*ὡϲ*] *κ*[*αὶ ὠφελίας* [*ὅλ*]*ηϲ* | [33][*ἐϲτί*]*ν, οὐδενὸϲ λ*[*ε*]*ί*|[34][*ποιτ' ἄ*]*ν ἱϲτορικῶν*. However, even if this convoluted structure catches the sense, the actual wording must be modified: *ἀ*[*λλό*|[31]*τρι*]*α* is too short and does not take account of the final traces in 30.

35]. *υν*: either *ϲ* or *ο*. The papyrus breaks off below this line, which stands a little lower than line 34 of col. ii; there may have been one more line, ranging just below line 35 of col. ii.

Col. ii

The line-length can be established approximately from the plausible supplements in 14, 19, 23, 30. However, col. i is a warning that shorter lines (with filler-stroke) and longer (with last letters written smaller) are always possible.

1 ff. seem to contain a history of Hieronymus' career. He served his 'friend and countryman' Eumenes (T 4), and undertook an embassy from him to Antigonus I (Monophthalmus) (F 2); then Antigonus I (T 5), then Demetrius Poliorketes (T 8), then Antigonus II (Gonatas) (T 11).

3–5 The first stage of his career related to Alexander (the Great)? There is no direct reference to this in the testimonia. Perhaps he was there already with Eumenes; but line 5 might suggest that the stage before Antigonus I began when he was 25, whereas the Alexander episode preceded that.

A possible outline: i 35 - - - *ϲυνε*|[*γέν*]*ετο* - - - (ii 2) *ἑαυ*[*τόν* - - - *πρῶτα μὲν* [*Ἀλεξάνδρωι, Κλει*]|*τῶι γὰρ συν*[*ῆν τῶι ἀδελφῶι Ἀ*]|*λεξάνδρου*, . [*c.*6 *πέν*]|*τε καὶ εἴκοϲι* [*γενόμενος ἐ*]|*τῶν παρ' Ε*[*ὐμένει* . . . Note that i 35 may not be the last line of the column. From 9 and 11 one could guess that the list of monarchs served (in the dative, 10?, 12) was articulated by *εἶτα* or *εἶτα δέ*.

13 . [ ]. *α*. : the first trace is a dot at line-level; then a high horizontal suitable to *ϝ* or *τ*. The last letter consists of an upright stroke followed closely by a small right-hand arc in the upper part of

the line. (i) We have considered taking the small arc as an anomalous stop (this scribe writes stops as extended strokes, see ii 28, even as a rudimentary circumflex, see ii 31, but nothing like this elsewhere), with ι before it. In that case we could consider (12–13) τῶι [λεγομένωι Γο]|ν̣[α]τ̣ᾶι, or τῶι [δευτέρωι τε]|λ̣[ευ]τ̣ᾶι. However, neither ν̣ nor λ̣ really suits the trace, and [ευ] looks too long for the space. (ii) Therefore the upright and the arc should be taken together as ρ. That suggests] γάρ, with one or at most two letters preceding; ἀ̣τ̣άρ seems stylistically unlikely.

14–16 T 2 = [Lucian], *Macrob.* 22 ἔζησεν ἔτη τέσσερα καὶ ἑκατόν, ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης . . . λέγει [= FGrH 86 F 4]· καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἄρτιον ὄντα ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις, μηδενὸς γενόμενον τῶν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐλλιπῆ. The same section of [Lucian] states that the historian Aristobulus (= FGrH 139 T 3) ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη λέγεται βεβιωκέναι. Line 14 as restored is of approximately the expected length, though it might accommodate (say) 1–3 more letters if squeezed; there would hardly be room for τέσσερα.

15–16 Dem. 19.251 παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης; Aristides εἰς βασιλέα p. 63.22 Jebb παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης ἑαυτὸν παρασχών; Plu. *Ag. et Cleom.* 34.1 παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος. If 17 is rightly taken to begin a new clause, restore e.g. [πᾶσιν παράδει]|γμα σωφροσύ[νης παρέχων?

17–19 E.g. ἐξ ὧν πάντω[ν πᾶσι καταφα]|νές, ὡς τῷ [ὅλῳ ἐστὶν ὠφέλι]|μος . . .

21 ff. Polybius.

21–2 τῶ[ν ἐκ τοῦ ἱπ|πικ]οῦ τάγματ[ος? Greek authors use the phrase to identify Roman equestrians (Jos. *AJ* 18 p; Herodian 7.10.7). Polybius had indeed been ἵππαρχος of the Achaean League (28.6.9). But a tracing suggests that this would make 21 substantially too short. τῶ[ν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευ|τικ]οῦ τάγματ[ος would fit better, if sense could be made of it. If then 23 continues καὶ] αὐτὸς, what occupied the *c.*6–7 letters remaining in 22?

23–7 Polyb. 3.4.13 διὰ τὸ **τῶν πλείστων μὴ μόνον αὐτόπτης** ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν συνεργὸς ὧν δὲ καὶ χειριστὴς γεγονέναι. In 25–6 our author seems to quote the words in boldface.

27 φιλαλήθως of history Diod. 2.32.1.

29–30 ἐν π̣[or τ̣[: e.g. ἐν π̣[ᾶσιν ἔμπει]|ρος.

31–2 e.g. κ[αὶ πάντη τὸ]| π̣ολυμαθὲς δ[ιαφαίνει. Strab. 1.2.20 κἂν τοῖς κλίμασι δὲ κἂν τοῖς ἀνέμοις διαφαίνει τὸ πολυμαθὲς τὸ περὶ τὴν γεωγραφίαν Ὅμηρος.

33–5 μ̣ὴ μόνα ϛ΄. [*c.*6 τὴν ἱς]|το[ρί]αν περὶ .ε[*c.*8]| ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ̣ .[?

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4809. On Hellenistic Monarchs

88/164(a) 15.5 × 17.5 cm Third century
Plate V

Parts of three columns, written in a sharp right-sloping hand of the Severe Style to be compared e.g. with *GMAW*² 50 or Schubart, *Pal.* Abb. 97, and assigned to the third century (note the deep boxy c and the like). The letters are well-spaced, but can be written much smaller and closer when necessary at line-end (ii 16). Running down the line-ends of col. i is a ragged *kollesis*. In the same position there is a shallow vertical groove, and a similar groove marks the line-beginnings (and probably ends) of col. ii and the line-beginnings of col. iii. This might be the

sort of ruling with a hard point that is familiar from medieval MSS; we have examples among early vellum codices from Egypt (*GMAW*^{2} p. 4 n. 6) but I know no other instance on papyrus, where even the use of guide-dots is rather rare (W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 93–9). LX **4034**, a papyrus roll of Aeschines assigned to the second or third century, seems to have horizontal guidelines ruled in ink.

Upper and lower margins lost; intercolumnium of *c.*1.5 cm. The column held at least 37 lines, to a height of at least 17.5 cm; width *c.*5.5 cm. I see no way of deciding the original column-height; heights of 26 and even 28 cm are attested (Johnson 124–5). The back is blank and muddy.

No lectional signs, except diaeresis in ii 2 (initial iota); not written apparently in ii 10–11 -υ]|ικα, 11 ιο-, or 14 δι (at 16 ιδ the fibres are stripped above, so that any diaeresis would be lost). Overlining at the end of ii 17 was perhaps intended to represent final ν. A possible blank in i 20 may indicate the end of a sentence (and a section?); but in ii 16 sentence-end is not marked even by *paragraphos*. Elision not in evidence; *scriptio plena* iii 13? Iota adscript written correctly in ii 24. Itacistic spelling in ii 16 ημειν.

It emerges from ii 16ff. that the writer has given an account of the *epigonoi*, i.e. the descendants of Alexander's successors; it is not clear whether the *diadochoi* were themselves included. He has dealt only with 'those who were thought worthy of kingship'. He proposes now to turn to the kings of Pergamum. What precedes concerns Cleopatra VII (i 2ff.) and the family of Juba II of Mauretania (ii 1ff.); presumably Juba came in at the end of a Ptolemaic section, since he married Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, and duly named his son and successor Ptolemy. By accident or not, the text surviving in cols. i–ii concerns itself with the literary productions of the monarchs, with some emphasis on the question of their authenticity (i 2ff.; ii 13–16). The Pergamene section, however, may have begun with a historical narrative, if col. iii is rightly interpreted.

Various historians wrote about the *diadochoi* and *epigonoi* and about Pergamum (FGrH 154ff.; 505ff.). Given the emphasis on kingship, one could think of Timagenes' Βασιλεῖς (FGrH 88 F 1). Only one quoted fragment attests the title; other fragments normally ascribed to the same work mention Ptolemy I (F 3) and Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra's father (F 9). Timagenes was an Alexandrian, captured by Gabinius in 55 BC; at Rome he lived to chronicle the deeds of Augustus, and grew old in the house of Asinius Pollio (who died in AD 4). Could he be our author? Certainly he was a prolific and well-read writer (T 1, 7), praised by Quintilian (T 6) and assumed by modern scholars to have been widely used by other historians. The difficulty lies in the chronology. Our author knows works by Juba (II), who reigned from 25 BC to *c.* AD 23, and perhaps by a Ptolemy who may be Juba's son and successor. Timagenes could have read a book by Ptolemy, if he enjoyed a long old age and Ptolemy a precocious literacy; but it is rather a stretch, if Ptolemy was born

*c.*20 BC, as is commonly assumed, and highly unlikely, if Ptolemy was born *c.*5 BC, as others argue from numismatic evidence.

I am most grateful to Dr R. A. Coles for checking and correcting my transcript, and in particular for making the certain join between the main fragment and a smaller piece that provides the ends of col. ii 15–18 and the whole of col. iii.

col. i	col. ii	col. iii
	. . . .	
	.]. ω[	
	.]. cïc̣. . .[	
	.]. οcψυχ[	
	.]. τετ. [	
5	. .]. νων[	
	. . .]ηνκ[	
	. .]ριτικ. [. . . . .]. .[	
	φεδεκα. [. . . .]αϋ. [	
. . . .	πτολεμα̣[.]. []. κυ. [	
10]. [.].	γετικονκαιμα[	. . .
]. . θεμ[]	ικακαιοαυτουιο[	]. .[
]γαρεπιγρ̣α̣	ανεψιοστοπερι. [	. ωι̣[
]ι̣ονωσκλ̣[ ]ε̣	δωναγωγηcω[	δεετῃ[
]ρασκ̣οc̣μητι	τοcοιοβασδιιcχυ̣. [	τεccαρα̣[
15]. υκα. [.]ηcεcτι	ζεταιεντοιcπερι̣	απ̣. . .[
]β̣α̣cι̣[]. ι̣δοcαλ	τουιδιουβιο̣υημειν	νει̣[
]. νοcαναγεγρα	δεπεπληρωκοc̄ιν̄	δυ. [
]. coιcεκειν.	τactωναλεξαν	φ. . .[
]. θεραπειανε	δρουδιαδοχωνεπι̣	ευ̣μ̣[
20]. ο̣ ενταυθα	γονακοcοιγεβαcι	λο̣. [
]. . . . . [ ]ο̣νπε	λειαcηξιωθηcαν	μ̣ε. [
]. [	]αρμοζειcυ̣ναψαι	νε. [
. . . .	ταπεριτωνε. []	λουδ̣[
	]περγαμωιβεβα	με. [
25	]cιλευκοτωι̣γε. .	νοc[
	]. . . ωνδ̣απο̣. . . .	ρο. . [
	. .]. ρουλαμπρο.	ταλ̣[
	. .]. . χ̣ε̣δονα̣παν	λουτ̣[
	. .]. διατετουcρω	μη. [
30	. . .]. []. cυμμαχ. [ ]	. . .[
	]. ατοδε. [	. . .

col. i

. . . .
].[.].[
]..θεμ[ ]
.... τὸ] γὰρ ἐπιγρα-
φόμε]νον ὡς Κλε-
οπάτ]ρας Κοσμητι-
κὸν] ο̣ὐκ αὐ̣[τ]ῆς ἐστι
τῆς] βασιλ̣ίδος ἀλ-
λά τ]ι̣νος ἀναγεγρα-
φότ]ο̣ς οἷς ἐκείνῃ
πρὸ]ς̣ θεραπείαν ἐ-
χρᾶ]τ̣ο. ἐνταῦθα
].....[ ]ο̣νπε
].[
. . . .

col. ii

. . . .
]ς̣ω[10–12
.].σϊς̣...[
.].οσψυχ[
.].τετ.[
..].νων[
...]ηνκ[
..]ριτικ.[.....]..[
φεδεκα.[....]αϋ.[
Πτολεμα[ῖ]ο̣ς̣ Κυν̣[η-
γετικὸν καὶ Μα[χλυ-
ικὰ καὶ ο αυτου ιο[2–3?
ἀνεψιὸς τὸ περὶ π̣[αί-
δων ἀγωγῆς ὡ[ς αὐ-
τὸς ὁ Ἰόβας διισχυρ̣[ί-
ζεται ἐν τοῖς περὶ
τοῦ ἰδίου βίου. ἡμεῖν
δὲ πεπληρωκόσιν
τὰς τῶν Ἀλεξάν-
δρου διαδόχων ἐπι-
γονάς, ὅσοι γε βασι-
λείας ἠξιώθησαν,
ἁρμόζει συνάψαι
τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν̣
Περγάμωι βεβα-
σιλευκότων, γεγ̣ο̣-
ν̣ό̣τ̣ων δ' ἀπὸ ....
..].ρου λαμπρο.
..]..χ̣ε̣δ̣ονα̣παν
..].διατε τους Ῥω-
...]..συμμαχ.[ ]
].ατοδε.[

col. iii

. . .
]..[
.ων̣[
δεετῃ[
τεσσαρα̣[
απ̣...[
νει̣[
δυ.[
φ...[
ευ̣μ̣[
λο̣.[
μ̣ε.[
νε.[
λουδ̣[
με.[
νος[
ρο..[
ταλ̣[
λουτ̣[
μη.[
...[
. . .

]. ϲτιαν . . [
]. ωνκ̣ε . [
]. . [. .]δ̣ . . [
]. . [
]. [
. . . .

Col. i

11]. , foot of upright μ[ ], space in the worm-channel would hardly allow more than ι or ο 15]. , trace from top or top right corner 16]. , oblique foot as of λ 17]. ν, ink at upper level, perhaps top of sloping upright; then ν rather than λι 18]. ϲ, traces at mid-height, most likely ο ν. ,apparently η, but more ink to lower right (Dr Coles suggests that the scribe's pen slipped on the rough edge of the *kollesis*) 19]. , short horizontal level with letter tops 20]. ο̣, short horizontal projecting from left at upper level; then space for c.3 letters apparently blank 21]. . . . . , horizontal top, ink descending from it at one-third from left; top perhaps of triangular apex (e.g. α); top of upright joining high horizontal (as of γ, π); top left-hand corner of square or e.g. of ο?; two traces level with letter-tops (tops of uprights?) 22]. [, perhaps top of η

Col. ii

1]. , upper and lower parts of ϲ? 2]. , upright, ink joining from left at mid-height (η?) ϲ̣ . . . [, ϲ rather than ε (no trace of cross-bar)?; then lower part of upright, lower left-hand arc or corner at half-height, foot of upright or oblique below line 3]. , small right-hand arc in upper part of line (ρ?) 4]. , upper part of upright? τ. , sloping upright 5]. , right-hand arc, ο rather than ω? 7 κ. [, nose as of α? 8 κα. [, sloping upright αϋ̣. [, trace below line-level 9]. [, small lower arc?]. κ̣υ. [, first, trace on edge near line-level, perhaps end of horizontal; last, perhaps ν 12 . [, foot of oblique sloping upwards to right 14 υ̣. [, υ almost certain; then upright sloping up from left to right, top lost 23 ε. , sloping upright and descending oblique as of ν 25 γε. . , first, upright, horizontal ink going rightwards at top; second a speck at mid-line 26 . . . ω, first, speck; second, two traces consistent with sides of ο; third has high horizontal, top of upright joining left-hand end ο̣. . . . [, of ο only the sides, but too small to be anything else? for remaining traces see commentary 27]. ρο, speck on loose fibres ο. , lower part of upright 28 . .]. . χ̣, or perhaps .]. . [ ]. χ̣, last a short horizontal trace at upper level (consistent with ϲ) 29]. , end of horizontal level with letter-tops, hole below 30]. [ ]. , second, point at mid-height, high horizontal above? 31]. α, oblique trace (sloping up from left to right) in upper part of line τοδε. [, ink above ε belongs to χ above; then point level with letter top, and oblique descender nearly touching line below 32]. ϲ, trace of upright and mid-level horizontal (on projecting fibre) ν. . [, lower part of upright (top cut off but possible trace of horizontal on left); loop suggesting first part of ω (but small) 33]. ω, faint high speck κ̣ε. [, κ partly concealed by displaced fibres; last, top of upright

Col. iii

11]. . [, second, foot of upright 12 . ων̣[, small low trace right at line-beginning 15 π̣. . . , perhaps foot of oblique rising to right to meet top of oblique descending to left; at end, oblique rising to right 17 δυ. [, upper left hand arc or top junction as of ο, but apparent diaeresis above 20 λο̣. [, ink like top junction of ϲ etc; then a further trace? but perhaps to be taken

]. στιαν . . [
]. ωνκε . [
]. . [. .]δ . . [
35]. . [
]. [

together as N 21 με . [, oblique rising to right, joins at top descending oblique 26 ρο . . [, traces not understood (sloppy N? probably not ροδι[)

Col. i '. . . For the book on cosmetics that claims in the title to be Cleopatra's is not the work of the queen herself but of somebody who listed the things that she made use of to care for herself. Here . . .'

Col. ii '. . . And also [Juba's son] Ptolemy [wrote] . . . a *Kynegetikon* and *Ma[chly]ika*, and a cousin (?) of the same Juba (?) the book about the upbringing of children, as Juba himself insists in the work on his own life. But for us, now that we have completed the progeny of Alexander's successors, or at least of those who were thought worthy of kingship, it is fitting to append an account of those who were kings at Pergamum and (?) derived (?) from [Philetaerus?]. . .'

Col. i

Lines 13–16, which can be plausibly restored, contain 12–15 letters.

11–12 What keyed the explanation in 12 ff.? Other works of Cleopatra judged to be genuine? Other Ptolemies whose works were genuinely theirs?

12–15 On the books ascribed to Cleopatra VII, see H. Usener, *RM* 28 (1873) 412–13 (= *Kl. Schr.* iii 31 ff.); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (1972) 548 n. 306. Galen *de comp. med.* several times quotes a Κοσμητικόν of Cleopatra (12.403, etc); Ps.-Galen *de pond. et mens.* fr. 60 and Hippiatr. App. 3 preserve an excerpt (about weights and measures) ἐκ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας κοσμητικῶν.

17 τ]ίνος suits the space and the trace. A personal name would be more helpful, but I have not thought of one whose genitive would fit.

Alternatively, -νος might represent a nominative; the clause would then continue ἀναγέγρα|[φεν] ὅσοις. Cωρ]ανός has superficial attractions, for Tzetzes cites him as Cleopatra's source (*Allegoriae Iliadis* v. 7 τῷ Ἐφεσίῳ ἰατρῷ τῷ Cωρανῷ χρωμένην). But whatever fact, if any, lies behind this seemingly anachronistic assertion (see Usener), it does not help here: Cωρ] would be two letters too long, and the first trace does not really suit]α.

19–20 ἐ|[χρᾶ]το. After this, the papyrus seems to be blank for a space of 2–3 letters. Does this mark a new section, beginning ἐνταῦθα, 'at this point'?

Col. ii

Lines 12–25 contain 11–17 letters.

The mention of a Juba in 14 suggests a Numidian/Mauretanian context. Very probably this is Juba II, who married Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, and so continued the Ptolemaic dynasty; it will be their son Ptolemy who appears in 9 (rather than Cleopatra's brothers Ptolemy XIII and XIV or her son by Caesar, Ptolemy XV Kaisarion, or her son by Mark Antony (and brother-in-law of Juba II), Ptolemy Philadelphus). The inscription OGIS 197, from the Ptolemaic Gymnasium at Athens, honours this Ptolemy as ἔκγονος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου.

If 7–10 refer to the writings of this Ptolemy (see note), 1–7 may refer to those of his learned father (FGrH 275).

2 Perhaps e.g.]ης ἱστορ[ίας. Juba II's numerous books included a Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία (F 9–12) and a Θεατρικὴ ἱστορία (F 15–16), otherwise (τὰ) περὶ τῆς Θεατρικῆς ἱστορίας (F 18) or Θεατρικά (F 17). κ]ης would fill the space at line-beginning.

3 .] .οσψυχ[. The first trace might suit ρ, but π]ροσψυχ- seems unpromising. π]ρὸς Ψυχ-? Or what?

7 κ]ριτικα could be read, but the initial kappa is hardly wide enough for the gap. χω]ριτικά might suit an ethnographic strain. Otherwise something geographical (Cυβα-, Βουσι-, etc.)?

7–10 Perhaps γέγρα]||φε δὲ καὶ [ὁ Ἰόβ]α υἱ[ὸς] | Πτολεμα[ῖ]ος Κυν[η]||γετικόν. The diaeresis on υ is clear; the upper part of the presumed ι following is lost, but may have carried a second diaeresis (Gignac, *Grammar* i 205 n. 2).

Ptolemy son of Juba II (RE XXIII ii 1769, PTOLEMAIOS 62) became co-regent and then king (*c.* AD 23); executed by his cousin Caligula AD 40. The date of his birth is normally given as *c.*20 BC, i.e. soon after his parents' marriage; but others have argued that he was born much later, say *c.*5 BC, since a coin of AD 5 shows Juba with a young child who wears a diadem (J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque* no. 375; a similar child on undated coins is called 'King Ptolemy': ibid. nos. 379–81).

No other source refers to his writings. Indeed, it would be tidier, as Professor C. B. R. Pelling suggests, if 7–10 continued a list of Juba II's works, including 'a *Kynegetikon* [addressed to (his son)] Ptolemy'; that would also affect the argument about the date of our author (see introduction). However, I have not found a way to reconstruct the text in this sense.

9–10 Κυν[η]||γετικόν: a traditional title from Xenophon's Κυνηγετικόν onwards; Κυνηγετικά by Grattius, Nemesian, and Oppian.

10–11 Μα[χλυ]||ικά. A guess, but the rules of syllable-division show that -ικα was preceded by a vowel, and Μάχλυες would suit the African context (a tribe of Libyan nomads, see Hdt. 4.178–80; J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines* . . . (1962) 107 f.). Juba II's works included Λιβυκά and περὶ Λιβύης (FGrH 275 F 5, 6).

11 ιο[. Ἰό[βας or Ἰό[βα (or -βου) seems inevitable; and there is then no room for ἐξ- or αὐτ-, even if the rules of syllable-division allow it. There is a real problem here. (i) With the nominative, it should mean 'his cousin Juba'. But the word-order would be bizarre, and I have found no record of a third Juba in this family or indeed of any cousin (if that is what the word means) either of Juba II or of Ptolemy. (ii) With the genitive, it should mean 'the cousin (unnamed) of Juba (II)'. This introduces no genealogical complications, but leaves αὐτοῦ isolated, when we should expect τοῦ αὐτοῦ, or conceivably αὐτοῦ τοῦ as in 14.

12–13 τὸ περὶ π[αί]||δων ἀγωγῆς. A book of this title is recorded for Theophrastus (DL 5.50, Theophr. fr. 436 no. 10 F.); another survives under the name of Plutarch (*Mor.* 1a). A standard topic for philosophers and in the praise of cities (Men. Rhet. p. 363.30 Spengel, p. 66 RW).

15–16 ἐν τοῖς περὶ | τοῦ ἰδίου βίου. A standard title for an autobiography (e.g Galen 19.46.7, in a list of his own books); not attested among the works of Juba II, but he would have had precedents in his patron Augustus (*Suda* A 4412) and his wife's tutor Nicolaus of Damascus (FGrH 90 F 131–9). Among the Ptolemies, Euergetes II had left extensive ὑπομνήματα (FGrH 234). Professor Pelling notes that such a work would most probably have been written late in Juba's life.

17 The horizontal stroke above the final ιν perhaps represents an alternative way of writing nu at line-end. But if so, why did the scribe allow himself this pointless duplication?

19–20 *Diadochoi* are the immediate successors of Alexander, *epigonoi* their descendants; see e.g. Diod. 1.3.3, Strabo 15.3.24.

20–21 A similar phrase (if rightly read) in P. Köln VI 247 ii 28–30 (anonymous History of the Diadochoi) οἱ δὲ φίλο[ι] κα{ι}τηξί|ουν αὐτὸν (Ptolemy I) τῆς βασιλικῆς | [ἐπι]κλήσεως.

22 *συνάψαι* of adding a section Polyb. 1.13.8, Plu. *Mor.* 1035D *δεῖ γὰρ τούτοις συνάψαι τὸν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν λόγον.*

25–7 *γεχο|νότων δ' ἀπὸ . . . .|[. .]. ρου κτλ.* It seems likely that *ἀπό* introduced the name of a dynastic founder. The obvious candidates are: (1) Attalus of Tius, the father of Philetaerus and his brothers (Strab. 13.624 etc); (2) Philetairus, the first dynast (though he was an ancestor of the later kings only obliquely and by adoption); (3) Attalus I, the first to assume the royal title. Enemies called Boa, the wife of Attalus of Tius, a Paphlagonian flute-player (Athen. 13.577b); and qualified the whole dynasty as slaves (Daphitas ap. Strab. 14.1.39 = *SH* 370). The dynasty in turn contrived a noble genealogy for Boa (OGIS 264.10), and Nicander was able to integrate them fully with the heroic past, as descended from Teuthras and from Heracles and through Heracles from Pelops (fr. 104); these heroes might thus qualify as mythical founders.

Of the various possibilities, *Φιλε|[τα]ίρου* best suits the ink. At the end of 26, where the traces are partly obscured by straying fibres, I seem to see parts of an upright reaching well above the line, with further ink at mid-height to the right, together suggesting φ or ϒ; then the lower part of an upright, the foot of an oblique rising from left to right, and broken remains suggesting ε. The space would suggest three letters; but if a little cramping is allowed, *φιλε* seems satisfactory.

27 *λαμπρο*, the trace (apparently the last letter of the line) is the lower part of an upright, ending at line-level, with damage above and below. The syntax remains obscure. The participle *γεχο|νότων* might (i) stand by itself, 'descended from' or 'originating from' Philetaerus, or (ii) continue with a complement, 'who became, starting from Philetaerus, . . .'. If (i), we could consider *λαμπροῦ* to qualify *Φιλε|[τα]ίρου*, but one would expect *τοῦ* before it (I have already suggested that in 11 the scribe omitted *τοῦ* by haplography) or a participle like *γενομένου* after it, for which I can see no space in the following lines. If (ii), one could look for *λαμπρῶ[ν*, but that cannot be read; or *λαμπροτ[ά]|[τω]ν*, where *τ[* might be possible but the rest too much for the space. There remains possibility (iii), that a new sentence begins here; e.g. *λαμπροὶ | [γὰ]ρ ϛχεδὸν ἅπαν|[τε]ϛ διά τε . . .*

28ff. Some elements recall Polyb. 4.48.7 (Attalus I) *Ἄτταλον πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυναστείαν ὑφ' αὑτὸν πεποῆσθαι*; Strab.13.4.2 (Attalus I) *διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη βασιλεὺς πρῶτος . . . οὗτος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κατέστη φίλος . . .* (Eumenes II) *. . . ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν ἐντὸς Ταύρου.* But I have failed to reconstruct continuous sense.

28 *ϛχεδὸν ἅπαν|[το]ϛ* or *-[τε]ϛ*, apparently not *ἁπάν|[τω]ν* (where in any case *[τω]* looks long for the space).

29 *διά τε τοὺς Ῥω|[μαίο]υϛ συμμαχ*.[? After χ, two remains of ink, one above the other, suggesting the top part of an upright with possibly a junction at the lower end; this should represent the last letter of the line, unless what followed was written very small. Possible constructions: (i) *διά τε τοὺς Ῥω|[μαίο]υϛ συμμαχή|[σαντας]* (cf. Thuc. 6.80.2 *δι' ὑμᾶς μὴ ξυμμαχήσαντας*!). But then I do not see how to continue with the latter part of 31 as preserved. (ii) *διά τε τοὺς Ῥω|[μαίο]υϛ συμμαχῆ|[σαι καὶ δ]ιὰ τὸ δε*.[(the last trace suggests *υ[* or possibly *χ[*). But that means emending *τε* to *τό*, or writing *τε ⟨τό⟩* (yet another haplography).

32]*.στιαν*: probably]*ϛ*, apparently not *δυν]αστ⟨ε⟩ίαν*, although it would be attractive to restore (as Dr Colomo suggests) *καὶ δ]ιὰ τόδ' ἔχ[ει(ν) | [τὴν δυν]αστίαν.*

34 end]*δι*.[or perhaps *δρ*.[.

Col. iii

12–14 E.g. *βασιλεύσας]| δὲ ἔτη [- - - καὶ] | τεσσαρά[κοντα*? Strabo 13.4 gives reigns as follows:

Attalus I	43 years (44 according to Polybius and Livy)
Eumenes II	49 years (but in fact 38?)
Attalus II	21 years.

Thus these lines might refer to Attalus I (restore [τέσσερα καί], which suits the space better than [τρία καί], so that 19 ευμ[(i.e. Εὐμ[εν-) may refer to his successor; or 12–14 might refer to Eumenes II (restore [ἐννέα καί]).

So far as can be seen, this final section contained simple narrative. On the pattern of the Ptolemaic and Mauretanian sections, the author would at some point have dealt with the literary productions of Attalid kings: Attalus I wrote a description of the Beautiful Pine (Strab. 13.1.44), Attalus III works on agriculture, zoology, and pharmacology (E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* ²1971) 144 f.).

P. J. PARSONS

4810. Rhetorical Exercise based on Speeches in Thucydides

18 2B.68/G(4–5)b 10.5 × 15.5 cm Third century
Plate II

Seventeen lines from the bottom of a column of a papyrus roll written in a competent bookhand of the Formal Mixed or Severe style, not particularly carefully executed: there is a slight slant to the right, and connections between a number of letters. The back is blank. The hand is comparable with Roberts, *GLH* 19b = XVII **2098**, Herodotus VII, with a land survey on the verso referring to a 15th year, perhaps that of Gallienus (267/8), and datable on the basis of its mature forms (flat-bottomed ω, μ with curved centre), decoration (shading), and slant, to the third century, perhaps the first half.

Near the top is a centred title heading a section that contains a speech couched in the first person plural with reminiscences of Thucydides I 32.1–4, thus pointing in the direction of a hypothesis, epitome, or exercise based on that text (see on 1). A forked *paragraphos* closes the section of text preceding the centred title. Other lectional signs include diaereses of the initial, inorganic variety (6, 11, 12), but hastily placed with the two elements connected by a thin diagonal stroke. There is no punctuation (other than the forked *paragraphos* after 1). Inconsistent orthography appears: 5 ξυμμαχ-, but 12, 17 συμφερ-, and here and there Ionicisms: 6 ὑμέων (but 11 ἡμῶν), 13 αὐτοῖσι, 15 ἀδικουμένοισι, associated no doubt with historiography. The scribe once exhibits elision of final vowel (11) and assimilation (11, 16), but frequently fails to assimilate, writing *scriptio plena* instead. Similarly there is lack of contraction in προοφειλομένης (9–10).

Epitomes of Thucydides are not known before the Byzantine period. Declamations on themes in Thucydides and other historical themes (e.g. Arginusae) are not unknown (cf. XXIV **2400**, which prescribes to the pupil to 'write an accusation of Cleon for demagogy in proposing to put to death the male inhabitants of Mytilene; choose the moment when Diodotus has spoken against him'). P. Köln I 9 contains an imitation of Isocrates; XIII **1621** (*GBEBP* 13b, parchment codex, second half of 4th c.) is a collection of real speeches from Thucydides II, including

the conclusion of the speech of Archidamus at the beginning of the war (II 11) and the beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (II 35) with better readings (in some cases) than the medieval MSS. Cf. LVII **3877** (memorable extracts from books I–III). In a yet more scholarly vein, VI **853** offers an extensive exegetical commentary on Thuc. II with lemmata in ekthesis. At the other end of the scale, we might think of the present text as operating at an elementary rhetorical level, and, given the professional copying treatment it has received, perhaps as a collection of one particular rhetor's examples of the kind of set speeches contemplated in XXIV **2400**. It is hard to imagine an historiographical attempt to narrate the same events using the same device of speech, diction, and phrasing as Thucydides had done. It is safe to say that the author knew the text of Thucydides and deploys rhetorical devices like antithesis, parallelism, and the double-negative with a heavy hand.

	. . . .	. . . .
	⟩μ.[	⟩μ.[
	κερκ.[..].ωιν	Κερκυ[ρα]ίων
	τωνκερκυραιωνοπρε	τῶν Κερκυραίων ὁ πρε-
	cβευτηcελε.εωανδρεc	cβευτὴς ἔλεξε· ὦ ἄνδρεc
5	αθηναιοιξυμμαχοιμεν	Ἀθηναῖοι, ξύμμαχοι μὲν
	ουτεϋμεωνουτεπελο	οὔτε ὑμέων οὔτε Πελο-
	π̣ο̣[.]νηcιω̣ιγεγοναμεν	πο[ν]νηcίων γεγόναμεν
	ουδεποτεηκομενδεμη	οὐδέποτε. ἥκομεν δὲ μή-
	τεεχθραcπροοφειλομε	τε ἔχθρας προοφειλομέ-
10	νηcημινμητεχαρι	νης ἡμῖν μήτε χάρι-
	τοcϋφημωνδικαιατε	τος ὑφ' ἡμῶν, δίκαιά τε
	καιcυμφερονταϋμιν	καὶ cυμφέροντα ὑμῖν
	τεαυτοιcικαιημινδε	τε αὐτοῖcι καὶ ἡμῖν δε-
	ηcομενοιδικαιαμεν	ηcόμενοι—δίκαια μὲν
15	οτιαδ̣ικουμενοιc̣ικαι	ὅτι ἀδικουμένοιcι καὶ
	ουχετερου....κουc̣ὶ̣προc	οὐχ ἑτέρους ἀδ̣ικοῦcι προc-
	θηcecθ̣εημινcυμφερο[	θήcecθε ἡμῖν, cυμφέρον|[τα δὲ

1 . [, bottom tip of diagonal followed by bottom of another descender, as of ⲁ, ⲗ, ⲇ, ⲭ 15 ⲓ, slight trace at top centre ⲇⲓ, top of left-leaning diagonal, then top half of upright 16 ....high horizontal suitable to top of ⲥ, top of left-leaning diagonal, converging diagonals as apex of ⲁ, ⲗ, ⲇ (though elsewhere the right diagonal of ⲇ exceeds the left), high tip of upright

'Speech of the Corcyraeans

'The ambassador of the Corcyraeans spoke: "Men of Athens, we have never been allies either with you or with the Peloponnesians; but we have come neither with previous enmity owed towards us, nor favour owed by us, but rather to ask for what is both right and profitable for you yourselves and

for us alike — right, because you will side with us who are being wronged and who are not wronging others, and profitable (because) . . .'''

1 The speech of the Corcyraeans, named here in the title in 2 and echoed in 5–8, is the first speech in Thucydides' *Histories* (I 32). We are entitled to ask what the preceding text in the papyrus might have been. Presumably not another speech, if the text followed the sequence in Thucydides I. It might, in that case, have been (i) a prologue to the collection, or (ii) a summary of the opening of the *Histories* up to the speech of the Corcyraeans at 32–6. Alternatively, it might have been (iii) a different speech, if the collection did not follow Thucydides' text sequentially, or at all. We might, for example, have a collection of speeches on various historical themes, drawing only in part on a well-known speech from Thucydides. In this case the text preceding the title in 2 might have been another speech on another (historical) theme, or a preface setting out the rhetorical rationale of the collection of speeches.

2–3 The title *Κερκυραίων* (understand: *λόγος*?), written in the same hand as the rest of the text, is centred in 2, preceded by an extra line's height of blank space. But in 3 the speech begins with a narrative introduction of the Corcyraeans' speech, attributing its delivery to their ambassador, in spite of the fact that the speech is couched in the plural, as it is in Thucydides, who says (I 31) merely *Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε*. The title therefore seems adventitious. Was it, or the narrative introduction, a later addition to the text? Note also the odd lack of an introductory particle. *Κερκυραίων* in 3 is written in the same position as the title in 2; perhaps this has caused a particle of introduction (e.g. *δέ* or *νῦν* after *τῶν*) to have dropped from the text before *Κερκυραίων*.

4 *ἔλεξε*: the aorist (Thuc. I 31.4 *Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε*) here seemingly secured by a distinctly horizontal base of ξ with a vertical protruding upwards from the centre of the base. *ν*-movable omitted as often in oratorical papyri; the need for it in any case obviated by a pause before the beginning of the speech with *ὦ ἄνδρες*.

ὦ ἄνδρες: cf. Thuc. I 32.1 *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι*.

5–8 *ξύμμαχοι κτλ.* An echo, making the same point in slightly different phrasing, of Thuc. I 32. 4 *ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἑκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἤκομεν κτλ*. The speech in the papyrus seems not to continue to follow Thucydides, but to recycle more or less the same words, while attempting to effect a type of antithesis and balance associated with Thucydides.

8–10 *ἤκομεν . . . προοφειλομέ|νης*: cf. Thuc. I 32.4 *δεησόμενοι ἤκομεν*. But *προοφειλομένης* already at the beginning of the speech at I 32.1 *τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἥκοντας*.

8–11 *μήτε . . . ἡμῖν . . . μήτε . . . ὑφ' ἡμῶν*. The contrast is somewhat awkward. It is tempting to remedy, and better balance would be achieved, by reading *ὑμῶν* for *ἡμῶν* in 11, so as to translate: 'not because we are already owed either enmity or favour on your part' (suggested by Professor Parsons).

11, 14 *δίκαια*: *δίκαιον* is the first word of the speech of the Corcyraeans at Thuc. I 32.

11–12 *δίκαιά τε καὶ συμφέροντα*: cf. Thuc. I 32.1 *εὐεργεσίας*.

16 Traces and spacing favour *ἀ̣δ̣ι̣κοῦσι* (which seems to better suit the sense and simple antithesis) over *δ̣ι̣κοῦσι* (Ionic future participle of *δικάζω*).

17 *συμφέρον|[τα δέ*: restored from *συμφέροντα* in 12, in antithesis with *δίκαια μέν* in 14.

D. OBBINK

4811. Novel ('*Panionis*')

112/103(a)+104(b)b 13.5 × 22.7 cm Second century
Plate VI

A damaged column of 27 lines, with minimal traces of the next, written along the fibres (the back is blank). The upper and lower parts are on two substantial fragments that join in 16 (see note); a much smaller fragment can be placed to provide the beginnings of 17–18. The upper margin survives to 2.8 cm, the lower to 2.2 cm. The intercolumnium measures 1.8–2.0 cm, but the left-hand margin runs to *c.*4.5 cm, so wide as to suggest the beginning of a roll (note also the enlarged initial letter in line 1).

The text is copied in an informal round hand, of a type normally assigned to the second century by comparison with e.g. *GLH* 14b (Pindar *Paeans*, 2nd hand) and such dated documents as *PGB* 22b (M. *Chr.* 86, AD 135 or not much later) and Norsa, *SLG* 12b (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, *c.* AD 150). This example is neatly executed, bilinear except for ρ and φ; it uses no serifs, but the second uprights of η and π curve rightwards at the foot.

Punctuation by *paragraphos* combined with blank (4) or high stop (8, 15; high stop alone visible in 10, 12, 16, 22, *paragraphos* in 25); in 8 the high stop takes the shape of an acute accent, in 10 and 12 it is heavily inked, so that one could ask whether a second hand added them (in 8 it stands above a letter, in 10, 12, and 22 well above the line although a letter-space is available below). Diaeresis on initial *υ* 6, 8, 9 (but not 23?). No accents visible. No example of iota adscript (omitted in 2, ?11). No example of elision marked or unmarked; *scriptio plena* 1, 4, 8, 12, 13 (at pause), 14 (also 7? 9? 16? 18? 21?). In 3 ἀ̣πιεν and 8 ὔμεις the original left-leaning iota has been overwritten with an iota in darker ink, leaning to the right; this may be the same darker ink of the stops in 10 and 12. Final *ν* abbreviated as a superscript horizontal in 9.

The text introduces two characters: Panionis and Heroxenus. Heroxenus is dressing with a view to making a speech; he tells Panionis to leave, since she will be bored; Panionis asks to stay and hear. Heroxenus agrees. The subject (ὑπόθεσις) of the speech is stated; the details are lost, but it certainly involved a trial for murder. He then embarks on the speech, 'Perhaps he (she) thought, gentlemen of the jury, . . .'. The dialogue is presented in simple, even colloquial style, with no avoidance of hiatus.

It seems clear that such a narrative comes from a work of fiction. It is also clear that the forensic speech does not relate to a trial within the plot; it is a declamatory exercise. The procedure is familiar from rhetorical textbooks, and Heroxenus uses the technical language: θέσις would be a general proposition to be defended or attacked, whereas ὑπόθεσις (23) is 'a specific theme about specified persons and places' (D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (1983) 141). Indeed, the formulation (ending

κρίνεται φόνου or the like) can easily be paralleled from Sopater and others. The whole thing would be familiar to educated men of the imperial period, even perhaps in Hellenistic times. The question is, how such an episode would fit in the novel as we conceive it. The *Satyricon* takes a satirical interest in declamatory practice (1–5, 48.4–6) and includes the text of a (verse) declamation (89), but of course the tone there is much more rowdy.

As for the setting, **4811** offers really no clues except the proper names. Both of them are unknown to literature (to judge from the *TLG*); Panionis also to inscriptions. 'Panionis' is so unusual that one might take it as a locator: in Ionia, perhaps in classical times when the Paniones were important, perhaps in the context of the festival Panionia, at which perhaps (though we have no direct evidence) there were contests of declamation.

There is a further element to consider. Professor Susan Stephens pointed out to me that this piece looks very similar, palaeographically, to another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, PSI XI 1220, the narrative about Staphylus republished in S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (1995) 429–37 (M–P^3 2625, LDAB 5025; see also M. P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiráceos de novela griega* (Alicante 1994) no. 25 (pp. 307–16); plate (actual size) in G. Cavallo et al. (edd.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Pap. Flor. XXX: 1998) no. 22 and tav. XIX, digital image in E. Crisci (ed.), *Papiri letterari della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (CD-ROM, Cassino 2002).

Does that fragment belong to the same manuscript as **4811**? The arguments in favour are:

(i) The hand might indeed be the same, but it must be admitted that this is a hand of a rather general and undistinctive type. (ii) Scribal practice in lectional signs and the like is reasonably similar, given the size of the samples. (iii) Above all the physical dimensions (line-spacing, line-length, upper and intercolumnar margins) show a remarkable likeness of format. Thus:

	PSI 1220	**4811**
Line-space (10 lines)	6.3 cm	6.1 cm
Line-length	6.0–6.4 cm	6.2–6.4 cm
Letters per line	22	22
Surviving upper margin	2.8 cm	2.8 cm
Intercolumnium	1.5–1.8 cm	1.8–2.00 cm

(iii) at least carries substantial weight. Assuming that hand and format are the same, we might be dealing with two fragments of the same roll, or with two different rolls in the same set, or with two quite separate rolls copied by the same scribe. If in fact the two pieces belong to the same roll, then PSI 1220 comes later than **4811**, which seemingly contains a roll-beginning; I have checked whether the initial letters surviving from **4811** col. ii could correspond to the line-ends preserved in PSI 1220 col. i, but the remains in **4811** are too scanty to prove anything. The

fact that the two fragments now exist in different collections is no obstacle to bringing them together. The Italian excavators who dug Oxyrhynchus after Grenfell and Hunt certainly found further pieces of papyri already recovered, sometimes from the same roll, sometimes even from the same fragment, and many of these are published, like *Staphylus*, in PSI XI. See the list by Funghi and Messeri, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 79.

Suppose, then, that PSI 1220 followed **4811** (at an unknown distance) in the same roll. **4811** begins a roll, that is a book, but not the first book (for the narrative is already in full swing, with linking δέ), of what certainly sounds like a novel: Panionis and Heroxenus converse briskly and with good humour. PSI 1220 contains what sounds like myth or folk-tale, the story of Staphylus exposed as a baby by his mother Hippotis and rescued by King Dryas; some scholars have doubted whether this 'insouciant little narrative' should qualify as 'novel' at all, given its uncharacteristic economy, others have thought it a digression (Stephens and Winkler) or a filling in of background (López Martínez). There is no clear thematic connection between the two pieces, except perhaps geographically: Panionis may come from Ionia, Hippotis retires to Sardis. However, if they do belong, we can imagine another possibility. *Staphylus* may represent another of the rhetorical themes that engage Heroxenus and his friends; it might even represent the same theme, if it served as *narratio* to the forensic speech begun in **4811**.

col. i	col. ii	col. i
επειδεεκομιcενηπανιωνιc		ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόμισεν ἡ Πανιωνὶς
τηνcτολ[.]ντωηροξενωεκελ....		τὴν cτολ[ὴ]ν τῷ Ἡροξένῳ ἐκέλευεν
αυτηναπιεναιωcμηενοχλοιτο		αὐτὴν ἀπιέναι ὡς μὴ ἐνοχλοῖτο
ακροωμενη ηδεεφ[....]ο.		ἀκροωμένη. ἡ δὲ ἔφ[ηcεν·] 'οὐ
νυνγεπρωτονενοχλ...αι	...	νῦν γε πρῶτον ἐνοχλοῦμαι
ϋποτηccηcακροαcεωc.αθη	.[	ὑπὸ τῆc cῆc ἀκροάcεως, καθ' ἡ-
μερανδεποτεγαρδιαλειπετε	ν[	μέραν δέ. πότε γὰρ διαλείπετε
ϋμειcποτεδεο.χιλεγετερη	μ[	ὑμεῖc; πότε δὲ οὐχὶ λέγετε ῥη-
τορικαφιλος.φα·ϋμετερ[.]..τ̄ω̄	α.[	τορικὰ φιλόcοφα ὑμετερ[.]..τω(ν)
αλλοτρια·τοδ[..].caναγν..[..]	μ[	ἀλλότρια; τὸ δ[..]ης αναγν..[..]
ωcουχομοιονεcτιντω.ε	...	ωc οὐχ ὅμοιόν ἐcτιν τῷ λέ-
γειν· ενθαδ[.]ουν.....με[		γειν· ἐνθάδ[ε] οὖν .....με[
ενοχλειcθαιλεγειc·λε.εω		ἐνοχλεῖcθαι λέγειc; λέγε, ὦ
φιλτατεκαιμημεαπε.[		φίλτατε, καὶ μή με ἀπέλ[αυ-
νεcαυτο.·καιοηροξενο[		νε cαυτοῦ.' καὶ ὁ Ἡρόξενο[c ὑ-
πομειδιαcαcεφη·αλλα.[		πομειδιάcαc ἔφη· 'ἀλλὰ ἄ[γε
]ακροωε.[]..τοcοιφι[		ἀκροῶ εἰ [τ]οῦτό coι φί[λον, ἄ-
]γεcουεν.[].απροβ.[		γε coῦ ἕνεκα προβ.[c.4 ὑ-
].οθε.[....]ε.εγεν.[		ποθεc[....]ε.εγεν.[c.4

20	..]ται[...]..ωc..[	..]ται[...]..ωc..[
	.[..].[...]..κ̣αε̣.ρ̣.[	.[..].[...]..κ̣αε̣.ρ̣.[
	κ̣..[..].[ ].ιφ̣.ν̣ου·καιτ̣.[	κ̣..[..].[ ].ιφ̣.ν̣ου· καιτ̣.[*c.*3
	εcτινηυποθεcιcε̣[	ἐcτιν ἡ ὑπόθεcιc ε̣[*c.*5
	λογοcωδ̣ε̣πωcλε[	λόγοc ὧδέ πωc λε[*c.*5
25	ελεγενπανυευθε̣.[	ἔλεγεν πάνυ ευθε̣.[*c.*5
	ωετομενϊcωcου̣.[	ᾤετο μὲν ἴcωc ου̣.[*c.*2, ὦ ἄν-
	δρεcδ̣ικαcταικε̣[	δρεc δικαcταί, κε[

2 λ. . . . , not easy to decide which traces combine with which, since upper and lower parts of papyrus are displaced: apparently ink level with letter-tops; top of upright or oblique level with letter-tops, then foot of upright or slightly sloping oblique at line-level; lower left arc; foot of oblique descending from left to right and joining lower part of upright (ν?) 3 ιεν, the iota rewritten in darker ink 4]ο̣., on the far side of a small gap, towards line-level, small trace rising from left to right 5 . . ., second, left foot and right apex of μ? But the ductus is doubtful 6 c., after hole high and low points of ink on edge, perhaps right-hand tips of κ, χ 8 ὔμεις, the iota re-inked in darker ink δεο̣., upright trace in lower part of line, sloping down slightly from left to right 9 c., left-hand arc of circle on edge 12 . . . . .με[, third a left-hand arc (ο, c, less likely ε, θ) 13 λεγειc·, the high point faint λε., upright and perhaps horizontal joining from right at top 17 .[ ], foot of upright at line-level; space in [ ] depends on relative spacing of small fragment and displaced elements of main fragment to right]..τ̣, rounded elements (ο, or right-hand side of ω?), then ink level with letter-tops, ?upright or oblique hooked to left 18] γ, apparently blank papyrus at upper level before ρ, which excludes τ and shows that this was the first letter of the line εν.[ ], space in [ ] depends on relative spacing of small fragment and displaced elements of main fragment to right]., short horizontal trace on edge, level with letter-tops β.[, trace on edge just below line-level, perhaps part of oblique rising from left to right 19].ο, feet of two uprights, from top of second horizontal ink to join ο (probably π) θε.[, top left-hand arc of circle [. . . .], size of lacuna doubtful (papyrus warped) ε.ε, oblique descending from left to right, joined on left at half height by upper part of another descending from right to left γεν.[, left-hand arc of circle, no visible cross-bar 21 ε̣.ρ̣.[, after ε space for one letter (the papyrus needs a slight horizontal stretch), with traces to left of gap, tip of oblique sloping down from left to right? to right of gap, ink touching top of ρ? (together suiting γ); after ρ, curved back and cap above (ο, c? top curved over too far for ω?) 22 κ̣..[, of κ the upper limb and central junction; then upper part of upright, more ink extending rightwards at top; then oblique ink, sloping down from right to left, on projecting corner].[, oblique trace sloping down from left to right at lower level].ι, left foot and back of ⲁ, λ φ., left-hand arc and trace from right-hand side τ̣.[, trace sloping down from left to right from end of cross-bar of τ 23 ε̣[, upper arc but also apparently horizontal at half-height 25 .[, small left-hand arc in lower part of line 26 .[, just below top levels, left-hand end of horizontal on edge

'And when Panionis brought Heroxenus his garment he started telling her to go away so that she should not be bored with listening. She said: "This is certainly not the first time that I am bored by your performance: in fact, every day. When do you let up? When are you not uttering discourses in rhetoric, in philosophy, your own, other people's? The business of reading is not like speaking. So here [why] do you say that I am bored? Speak, my dearest, and do not drive me away from you." And Heroxenus said, with a faint smile: "Well, go on, listen if this is what you want, go on, [propose the theme?] on your own account." [And she spoke as follows?] ". . . He (She) is put on trial for murder.

And [such] is the theme. . . . the speech (story?) . . . something like this . . ." . . . he (she) said (spoke?), very immediately . . . : "He (She?) perhaps thought, gentlemen of the jury, . . .".'

1 *Πανιωνίς*. The name seems not to appear in literature; nor is it attested in the published volumes and unpublished data of the *LGPN* (I am most grateful to Mrs E. Matthews and Dr N. Kanavou for arranging to check the files). The simple 'Ionis' appears in Call. *Ep.* 25 Pf. (XI G–P), as a girl (status uncertain) abandoned by Callignotus; among the few inscriptional examples note *SGDI* 2118.3–4, a slave or freedwoman at Daulis in 195 BC (the ethnic, as often, a typical slave-name?). The masculine *Πανιώνιος* (v.l. *Παιώνιος*) designates a Chian castrator whose exemplary fate Herodotus records in the winter before the Battle of Salamis (8.105–6); otherwise *LPGN* finds only one (doubtful) example, at Beth Shearim in 3rd–4th century AD. Simon Hornblower has discussed the Herodotean Panionius, and considered whether the name (historical? or invented by the historian?) refers to the festival of the Panionia (or the cult centre of Panionium) or to the spirit of Ionianism (P. Derow, R. Parker (edd.), *Herodotus and his World* (2003) 50–53). Is 'Panionis' too a speaking name? If so, does it look backwards to the original Panionium or to Herodotus' account of it? or sideways to the later Panionia, the festival recorded by Strabo (14.1.20) and still being celebrated in the time of Hadrian, who in turn took the title 'Panionios' (*Inschr. Eph.* 1501)?

2 *τὴν στο[λ]ὴν*: as priest? professor? declaimer?

Ἡροξένῳ. Again, I have not found this name in literary sources. *LPGN* lists some 35 examples, of which some 25 from the Black Sea area.

4 *ἔφ[ησεν·] 'οὐ·* or *ἔφ[η· 'ἀλλ'] οὐ*? The latter perhaps a little too long, but the letters vary so much in size that the judgment is marginal.

6 *τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως*: i.e., 'by the act of listening to you'? or in a more technical concrete sense, 'by your performance/lecture/reading'?

8–9 *ῥη|τορικὰ φιλόσοφα*. (i) The variation in ending (not *φιλοσοφικά*) is standard, as e.g. *Suda* (Porphyry) *ἔγραψε βιβλία πάμπλειστα, φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ῥητορικὰ καὶ γραμματικά κτλ.* (ii) On the face of it, these are different categories (i.e. not a single concept of 'rhetorical philosophy'), in asyndeton (*Suda* (s.v. John Philoponus) *συγγράμματα πάμπολλα, γραμματικά, φιλόσοφα, ἀριθμητικά, ῥητορικά*); the fact that the scribe writes a high stop after the second word but apparently not after the first (where however the surface is somewhat damaged) does not prove that they are a unit. But note Cicero's argument that oratory and philosophy were originally identical, their divorce the fault of Socrates (*de Oratore* 3.66 f.)).

9–10 *ὑμετερ[.]..τ̣ω(ν)| ἀλλότρια*. The physical evidence is this: (i) The right-hand piece of the papyrus needs to be moved to the right, though not by much (see 8 end *ετε*). (ii) At the line end, *ω̄* seems certain, and the suprascript stroke would normally signify a final *ν*. The left side of *ω* is lost in a hole; to the left of that what I have taken as the upright and left-hand cross-stroke of *τ* (*π* could also be considered; it would have to be very narrow, but this scribe does sometimes compress letters at line-end; the top is too close to horizontal for *ν*); to the left of that a narrow vertical gouge in the surface, and to the left of that apparently a more or less upright stroke, which in some lights seems to be hooked to the left at the top. If we restore *ὑμέτερ[α]*, there is space only for a short word]..τ̣ω(ν), at the beginning two narrower letters or one wide. In context this word should be a genitive plural, which might then depend (i) on *ὑμέτερ[α]* or (ii) on the following *ἀλλότρια* (*ἀλλοτρία*?). As to the sense, we could reasonably assume that *ἀλλότρια* contrasts with *ὑμέτερα*, 'yours and others". For (ii) I have no idea more sensible than *ὦ̣τω(ν) ἀλλότρια* 'unheard of' or 'unfit to be listened to', which offers no contrast. (i) offers a much simpler solution, as Dr W. B. Henry and Prof. R. C. A. Janko have argued, *ὑμέτερ[α] α̣ὐτ̣ῶ̣(ν)*. Here *α̣* is vestigial, but *υ̣* agrees well with the traces.

10–12 A new sentence, set off by the high stop (no *paragraphos*). Perhaps *τὸ δ[ὲ τ]ῆς ἀναγνώς[ε|ως*, 'but the business of reading is not like speaking'. If so, what is the point? A contrast between 'reading'

and 'speaking' as between philosophy and rhetoric (8–9)? Or between the written word and the (superior) spoken utterance, as classically set out by Plato (*Phaedrus* 274B ff.)? Neither seems to fit the immediate context. Perhaps Panionis means that she has read works by Heroxenus, but now wishes to hear him speak; or that she wishes to hear him improvising rather than reading out a prepared text (whether his own work or another's, 9–10).

12 . . . . . μ̣ε̣[. Sense seems to require something like 'So at this point why do you speak of me being bored?'. I had thought of π̣ῶ̣ς ἐμέ̣, which would suit the third trace (most likely ο or c) and the penultimate μ, but the first ε̣ seems too narrow for the space.

15–16 ὑ]|πομειδιάσας ἔφη. The whole phrase is a regular one in the cultural dialogues of Plutarch and Athenaeus; elsewhere qualified by σαρδάνιον (Polyb. 18.7.6), ἠρέμα (Ael.), ἀστεῖον (Justin), σεμνόν (Pallad.). In the novel: Heliod. 7.10.5, 10.14.6.

16 The physical join between the upper and lower fragments depends on εφη, where the main part of the letters stands on the upper fragment and the bottom arc of ε, the tail of φ, and the foot of the left-hand upright of η on the lower fragment. The fibres of the back (in poor condition) neither confirm nor exclude the placing.

16–18 The beginnings of 17–18, and the lower part of some letters in 16, stand on a separate small fragment. The placing here depends in part on the coherence of the text it creates, in part on a physical join above 19 which the fibres of the back seem to confirm.

16 ἀλλὰ ἄ̣[γε]: the last trace is uncertain (disturbed fibres). Perhaps ἀλλ' ἄχ[ε, but elsewhere the scribe uses *scriptio plena*.

18 προβ̣[, then space for *c.*6 letters at line-end, of which part is required by the supplement leading on to line 19, ὑ-. The final trace is vestigial, perhaps the foot of an oblique rising from left to right (if it were the foot of an upright, more ink should show above it). If προβλ̣[, I do not see where to go. προβα̣[may be possible (the trace representing pooled ink at the extremity of the loop, as in the second α of 10 αλλοτρια).

18–19 ὑ]|π̣οθες̣[. . . .]ε̣.εγεν̣.[*c.*4. Some form of ὑπόθεσις seems likely; cf. 23. The word denotes a declamation subject not expressed in general terms but relating to specific persons and circumstances, see e.g. Ps.-Hermog. *Prog.* 11 ἐὰν ὡρισμένον πρόσωπον λάβωμεν καὶ περίστασίν τινα καὶ οὕτω τὴν διέξοδον τῶν λόγων ποιώμεθα, οὐ θέσις ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὑπόθεσις. This is one of the ῥητορικά (8–9).

]ε̣.εγεν̣.[. After]ε, the apex and right-hand oblique of a triangular letter; after ν, a left-hand arc with no trace of cross-bar, i.e. ο or c rather than ε or θ. (i) If]εα̣, this is likely to be word-end. Very doubtfully I suggest ἡ δ(ὲ) ὑ]|π̣όθες̣[ις οὐ ν]έα̣, which is just allowed by the space; alternatively ἡ δ(ὲ) ὑ]|π̣όθες̣[ις δοτ]έα̣ or the like. In that case, προβ̣[ends its clause, but I can think of nothing better than προβα̣[ίνω, '"Come! For your sake let me step forward to speak! And the theme is not a new one . . ."' (long for the space). Then ἐγένο̣[ντο or the like would begin the statement of the theme, which must be complete by the end of line 21. (ii) If]ελ̣, then e.g. πρόβα̣[λε τὴν ὑ]|π̣όθες̣[ιν· ἡ δὲ] ἔλεγεν ο̣[ὕτως, '"Come! Propose the theme on your own account!" And she spoke as follows:'. Dr Coles observes that]ελ̣ is a more likely reading, since the left-hand oblique of the damaged letter descends at an angle more acute than would be expected of α. This recommends (ii), which also gives better sense. For the terms cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 583 (Aristides of Mysia is asked by Marcus Aurelius to declaim): 'τήμερον' εἶπεν 'πρόβαλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ'.

20–21 contained in only two lines the meat of the case, on the basis of which a single (male?) person (26) is charged with murder. I can make out none of the details. If PSI XI 1220 belongs in this context, might it be the *narratio* of the speech that Heroxenus based on this theme?

21]..κ̣αε̣.ρ̣.[, -κ̣α (e.g. γυναῖκα) ευρο̣[- would suit the traces; less likely ευρω̣[.

22 κ̣..[..].[ ].ιφ̣.νου. κρ̣ε̣[ίν]ε̣[τ]α̣ι (or κρ̣ί[νο]ν̣[τ]α̣ι) φ̣όνου might fit. Such a phrase recurs in statements of declamation-topics, sometimes as main verb of a sentence narrating the plot, sometimes added to such a sentence with καί. The topics themselves may take their material from myth

(like that of Staphylus?) or from the normal 'cases' of rhetoric. Thus Libanius *Decl.* 6 *Μετὰ τὴν τῆς Τροίας ἅλωσιν καὶ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος τελευτὴν Ὀρέστης ἀπεκτονὼς τὴν μητέρα ὡς ἀνδροφόνον κρίνεται φόνου.* Sopater Rhet. *RG* VIII 261 *Ἄχειρ ἀριστεὺς προσέταξε τῷ παιδὶ μοιχὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἀνεῖλεν ὁ παῖς καὶ κρίνεται φόνου.*

καιτ.[: *καὶ τ*ọ[*ιαύτη* suggests itself. If so, the missing letters must have been heavily compressed to fit the line-end (cf. 7).

22–5 If Panionis proposes the theme, and Heroxenus improvises the speech that begins in 26, we must provide for a change of speaker. Three possibilities: (i) Panionis continues into 24, e.g. *ἐ*[*πεὶ ὁ*] | *λόγος ὧδέ πως λέ*[*γει. ὁ δὲ*] | *ἔλεγεν κτλ.* Here *λόγος* would mean 'story', and the theme must relate to some well-known (mythical or historical) incident. (ii) Heroxenus intervenes in 22, e.g. *'καὶ τ*ọ[*ιαύτη*] | *ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόθεσις', ἔ*[*φη, 'καὶ ὁ*] | *λόγος ὧδέ πως λε*[*γέσθω'*]. (iii) Heroxenus intervenes in 23, e.g. *'ἐ*[*φ' ἧς ὁ*] | *λόγος ὧδέ πως λε*[*γέσθω'*] | *ἔλεγεν κτλ.* In (ii) and (iii) *λόγος* would be the speech he is to make, and *ὧδέ πως* has its typical function of looking forward to introduce quoted words. But (ii) leaves no room for a connection with 25; neither allows a clear reference to Heroxenus as the new speaker.

25 *πάνυ ευθε*.[. *εὐθέω*[*c* might suit (Plato *Phaed.* 63A): the practised declaimer does not need time to collect his thoughts, but plunges in with all speed. That would leave room for *c.*3–4 letters. If the speech began only with the next line (26 note), this introductory sentence continued for a further word, unless the line-end was left blank to mark (with the *paragraphos*) the new section.

26 *ᾤετο μέν* presumably began the 'speech'. For this use of *μέν* see Denniston, *GP*^{2} 383.

ου.[: *οὗτ*[*ος* or *οὑτ*[*οσί* acceptable, but equally *οὗτ*[*ως*. In any case, the singular subject should be the accused, and that supports the singular *κρ*ẹ[*ίν*]ẹ[*τ*]ạ*ι* in 22.

P. J. PARSONS

4812. Glossary (more of XV 1802)

127/35–6 6.1 × 7.7 cm Late second century
Plates VIII–IX

Fragments from an alphabetical glossary written across the fibres of a papyrus roll. A history of Alexander (XV **1798**) is written along the fibres on the other side, the original recto. A substantial portion of this glossary of Greek and foreign words was previously published by Hunt as XV **1802**. Additional fragments were identified as part of the same manuscript by Lobel (some of which he joined with the already published ones), and these are published here for the first time. A transcript and notes prepared by Lobel have been used for the edition below (he did not transcribe frr. 26–8). All the fragments may be ascribed to the same manuscript on palaeographical grounds.

Of the new fragments, five join those already published by Hunt: one joins **1802** fr. 2; two join **1802** fr. 3 i and **1802** fr. 5; and two join **1802** fr. 6 and **1802** fr. 9. The adjoining fragments (old and new) are presented together here; the new fragments, joined to previously numbered fragments, compose ensembles that are designated as follows: fr. 2, fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5, and frr. 6 + 9. In addition to these, there are seventeen new fragments that do not seem to join either with one

another or with the old fragments. These have been assigned numbers following on from those of **1802** (i.e. from **1802** fr. 11). All the new fragments (including frr. 26–8) have the same text of the glossary on one side and the same text as the recto of **1802** on the other, but not enough on either side to give a clue to their placement. In **1802** lemmata (covering letters κ–μ) are set in *ekthesis* and a blank space divides each lemma from its explanation. The end of a lemma is preserved in fr. 13.2, but otherwise the new fragments offer no complete new lemmata. There are no clear indications that they cover letters other than κ–μ. The upper margin is preserved to a height of 1.8 cm. in frr. 6 + 9, 13, 26 and 28, matching the height of that preserved in **1802** fr. 3. Line-ends are preserved in fr. 2 (i 12) and fr. 26.

Written in an irregular semi-cursive that has affinities with the Severe style: see **1802** introd. and cf. V **842** (*GLH* 17b); P. Mich. inv. 3 (*GLH* 15c, and now *Greek Medical Papyri* i 2, where the verso document is redated from 190/1 as in *GLH* to 192/3). A date in the late second century is likely. As in **1802**, no accents or other diacriticals are in evidence; no punctuation (other than blank space separating explanation). Iota adscript always omitted (cf. fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.17; fr. 6 + 9.3); diaeresis often added to initial iota (e.g. fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.13). Final ν sometimes written as a horizontal stroke above the preceding letter (fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.12). Many iotacistic spellings: πολειτεία (fr. 2.4.8; fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.21); Φοινείκης (fr. 12a. 6). At least one possible spelling error: fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.12 (τ for δ?).

As in the previously published portions of **1802**, the entries in the new fragments give a lemma (usually a rare, dialectal, or foreign word) followed by an explanation or translation of it by a named scholarly authority, often citing works and book-numbers; the lemma, which always begins a line, is separated by a blank space from its explanation. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a preserved blank space is that separating lemma from explanation (as it is, e.g., at fr. 13.2), or part of the blank line-end after the explanation has ended. In spite of the absence of complete new lemmata (which might have yielded e.g. new poetic quotations), the new fragments offer much learned material, exhibiting (as in **1802**) an interest in foreign, especially 'Eastern' words (παρὰ Πέρσαις fr. 6 + 9.13; κατὰ Πέρσας fr. 12a.9; περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσίαν . . . fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.10, 17–18; περὶ Φοινίκης fr. 12a.6; Σκυθικῶν fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.1), together with constant appeal to authorities as sources of the explanations: Berossus' *Babyloniaka* (fr. 6 + 9.20; fr. 12a.9), Erasistratus (fr. 12a.7), Xenophon (fr. 6 + 9.21), and Dionysius of Utica (fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.13—possibly the same as the Dionysius quoted in **1802** fr. 3 ii 48), and perhaps Hegesander (fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.12, already quoted in **1802** fr. 3 iii 74). In fr. 2 i 4.8 and in fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.21 πολιτεῖαι are mentioned, probably from works on constitutions (perhaps by Aristotle, who was quoted in **1802** fr. 3 iii 60 for the *Constitution of Soli*).

fr. 2

col. i	col. ii	col. i	col. ii
. . .		. . .	
]. νcε . . ν̣[ ]. [	. . .	]. νcε . . ν̣[ ]. [	. . .
]λ̣ο̣πονιαν [	]. . [	φι]λ̣ο̣πονίαν [	]. . [
]	[	]	[
]νπολειτεια	λα̣[	]ν πολειτείᾳ	λα̣[
]. cαντηνωρ	[	]. c Ἀντήνωρ	[
]	[	]	[
]	λα[	]	λα[
]α̣λωνπ̣ . λειτεὶα΄ [	λα]	Ἀριcτοτέληc ἐν τῇ Θεcc]α̣λῶν π̣ο̣λειτείᾳ [	λα[
]. ε̣κ[	.[	]. ε̣κ[	.[
] _ τ̣[	. . .	] _ τ̣[	. . .
]υ̣[		]υ̣[	
. . .		. . .	

Col. i 1]. , remains of sloping upright and oblique, ⲁ possible . . ν̣[, foot of upright followed by another on the edge, in a space for one letter, then forward-sloping upright, suggesting left stem of ⲛ (but ⲙ not excluded)]. [, speck at line-level 5]. , top of stroke sloping up from left to right (top right of ⲁ ⲏ ⲓ ⲱ ?) 9]. ε, foot of oblique sloping down from left to right (ⲁ, ⲇ?) followed by upright curved at top and bottom with traces of middle stroke, ⲉ possible (but ⲃ ⲑ ⲣ not excluded) 10 τ̣[, ⲅ not excluded (but less likely)

Col. ii 2]. . [, two sloping strokes on edge, compatible with ⲗ ⲁ 9 .[, speck on edge

fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5

. . . .	. . . . .
]γ̄cκυ̣[. . .]ω̣ν	ἐν - - -] γ̄ Cκυ[θικ]ῶ̣ν
]νωναρχη̣[. .]. ητρ̣[.]	]νων ἀρχη[. .]. ητρ̣[.]
]αποιουντε̣[. .]ν̣θ̣ουcια	]α ποιοῦντε[c ἐ]ν̣θ̣ουcιά-
]ε̣ροιcμαρδοι . . [.]. ουνται	ζουcι? παρ' ἑτ]έ̣ροιc Μάρδοι κ̣[α]λ̣οῦνται
]. λοιαντικλε̣[. . . [c	]. λοι Ἀντικλε[ίδη]c
]ηπιαδηcεν̣[.]. π . [. .]α	Ἀcκλ]ηπιάδηc ἐν [.]. π . [. .]α
] [c.5]	] [c.5]
]οικουcινηρα . [. . . . .]c	]οικουcιν ηρα . [. . . . .]c
]	]
]περιτουκαταacιανα	] περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀcίαν α
]	]
]αντροcενυπομνημαcῑ	Ἡγήc]αντροc ἐν ὑπομνήμαcιν
]διονυcιοcοϊτυκαιοc	] Διονύcιοc ὁ Ἰτυκαῖοc
]	]
]	]

]
]εντωπεριτουκαταασι
]
]ονομασιων
]ε.
]....κ̣ηπολειτεια [
]ις [
]σωευρυχωρια[
] [
].ικηνατ[
] [
]ρθοιπρ[.].[
]ι̣.θ̣...[
. . . .

]
] ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσί-
αν]
]ονομασιῶν
]ε.
]...ι̣κ̣ῇ πολειτείᾳ [
]ις [
]σω εὐρυχωρία [
] [
].ικηνατ[
] [
]ρθοι πρ[.].[
]ι̣.θ̣...[
. . . . .

1]ω̣, lower part of bowl (ο not excluded) 2].., upright with traces of loop in the upper part (ρ? but also ⲁ ⲏ ⲙ possible) 4]ε̣, middle stroke joining ρ ..[.]., upright on the edge (ι, κ); after the gap part of oblique joining ο (ⲁ or λ) 5]., upright compatible with ι or ⲏ 6]., traces of horizontal π.[, upright with middle stroke (ⲏ?) or ιτ rather than ιγ 8 .[, foot of sloping upright (ι? left stem of κ?) 20]ε., dot level with top of letters and horizontal underneath 21]...., letter-top on edge, upright (ι?), curved top of upper end of stroke descending to right (λ, γ?), top of upright (ι likely) 25]., speck at line-level 28]ι̣., top of circle (ϵ, ϲ) θ̣...[, sloping horizontal, perhaps upper part of ϲ or ϵ followed by high speck on edge

frr. 6 + 9

].ουβασιλεω. [
]ογικων [
]εντωτρωικω [
]δρο̣σο...ιοχευς [
] [ ] [
]βλεφα[..].α̣ρ̣α̣χ.[
].ανθις[..]οτ̣ανπλ[
]....μ̣οιχ[..].ον.[
].ϲ [ ] [
]κατατηνλιβυην[
]ενοιτρο..[ ]ωι.δι.[
]ω̣ν̣ [
]αραπε.[.].ι̣ϲ̣..[
] [ ] [
] [ ] [

].ου βασιλέωϲ̣ [
]ογικων [
] ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ [
]δρο̣σο...ιοχευς [
] [ ] [
] βλέφα[ρα] π̣α̣ρ̣ὰ̣ Χα̣[λδαίοις?
].ανθις[..]οτ̣αν πλ[
]λ̣ο̣ι̣ϲ̣ μ̣οιχ[..].ον.[
].ϲ [ ] [
] κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην [
]ενοιτρο..[ ]ωι.δι.[
]ω̣ν̣ [
π]αρὰ Πέρ̣[ϲ]α̣ι̣ϲ̣ ἐ̣π̣[ὶ τοῦ
] [ ] [
] [ ] [

]διουcφ.[..].[ ].[
] [
]μακεδ̣ω̣ν[
].ι̣μ̣... [
]ρ̣.cοcε̣ν̣¯.βα̣βυλω̣[
].cξεν[.]φωνενᾱ.[
]αδυ.[..].χουcτεθυρ[
].[.]..[

]διουcφ.[..].[ ].[
] [
] Μακεδ̣ων [
].ι̣μ̣... [
Βή]ρωcοc ε̣ν̣ ¯. Βαβυλω[νιακῶν
].c Ξεν[ο]φῶν ἐν ᾱ π̣[ερὶ
]α δύο̣ [το]ί̣χουc τεθυρ[ωμένουc
].[.]..[

. . . . . .

1]., speck above line, possibly remnant of horizontal top (τ?) .[, trace of lower part of curve 4 ..., curving left-hooked stroke below line (loop of ⲁ?), abraded surface, followed by remains of horizontal top joining an upright on left (Γ, Τ?) 6].α̣ρ̣α̣, remains of horizontal after the break (Γ Η Π?), of ⲁ only left part of loop and oblique .[, rather large bowl consistent with ο c ω, but ⲁ not excluded 7]., traces of a sloping upright (Κ, Ν?) τ̣ likely, but Γ not excluded 8]...., two obliques (λ, Χ?), then faint traces of at least two or three letters, the last compatible with c]., upright slightly sloping to right suggesting ι or Η if faint trace at mid-level is part of mid-stroke .[, small bowl or a curved bottom, as of ⲁ λ μ? 9]., ι or Η 11 ..[ ], faint traces, fibres missing ι.δ, speck of ink, possibly a letter 13 ε.[.], missing fibres and a gap, together space for two letters].ι̣c̣, speck, then upright followed by round letter ..[, faint remains of top and mid-stroke on abraded surface (ϵ?), then upright with long horizontal top on right, Γ Π Τ possible 16 .[, upright (Η Ι Κ Ν Ρ?)].[, mere traces].[, part of tiny circle (ϵ?) 19].ι̣μ̣, traces on abraded surface followed by upright suggesting ι ...[, traces of 2–3 letters, followed by blank space 20]ρ̣., loop and lower part of upright ε̣ν̣¯., trace of left part and middle stroke (Η also possible), descending oblique and upright on right suggesting Ν, then below horizontal line marking numeral, horizontal top joining an upright, as of Γ Ζ Ξ Τ 21]., horizontal at mid-level touching upright suggesting Η (or perhaps ϵι?) .[, sloping upright hooked to right: Π? Γ not excluded 22 .[, speck on edge at mid-level]., traces of a top horizontal, as Γ Τ Π or serif on ι 23].[.]..[, traces of letter-tops

fr. 12a

. . . . . .

]ν [..] [
]οινικωνκ....c.. [
]..[ ].μηνευεται.υ̣ρου̣ [
].ατοτονπυρονενταυθατ.υ̣c̣ [
]κ̣αcυποθη..υριζεινωcε...αι [
]¯. περιφοινεικηc [
]ωνεντοc̣τιδιωντιωcεραc.c̣τ̣ρ̣α̣[
]ε̣ντω.[...]τ̣υτικω [
]θαλαccακαταπερcαcβηρω̣ccο̣.[
]ᾱβαβυλωνιακων [
]τουcταπροcτὴν̀τροφη̣ν..[

]ν [..] [
Φ]οινίκων κν̣...cο̣c̣ [
]..[ἑ]ρμηνεύεται π̣υ̣ροῦ̣ [
δ]ι̣ὰ τὸ τὸν πυρὸν ἐνταῦθα το̣ὺ̣c̣ [
Φοίνι]κ̣αc ὑποθηcαυρίζειν ὡc Ἑc̣τ̣ι̣αῖ- [
οc ἐν] ¯. περὶ Φοινείκηc [
]ων ἐντοc̣τιδίων τι ὡc Ἐραcί̣cτρα̣-[
τοc] ε̣ν̣ τῷ̣ Ὀ̣[ψαρ]τ̣υτικῷ̣ [
] θάλαccα κατὰ Πέρcαc. Βήρωccοc̣ [
ἐν] ᾱ Βαβυλωνιακῶν [
] τοὺc τὰ πρὸc τὴν τροφὴν ..[

]....β.ϛ[ ]....β.ϛ[

. . . .

fr. 12b

. . .
]. ν̣ [
] [
]. [
]ρ̣. .[
. . .

fr. 12a

2 κ., read as *και* by Lobel, but ν̣ more likely than αι ..., space for two or three letters on abraded surface c. ., specks of ink suggesting tiny loop (ᴀ, ᴏ?), followed by upright joining to rather flat top on right, ᴦ, π? (but ᴄ not excluded) 3]. .[, bottom right-hand arc of small circle suggesting ᴏ, followed by foot of upright]., right part of tiny loop suggesting ᴘ (but ᴏ not excluded) .ν̣, upright and missing fibres (ᴦ, π?), then upright joining oblique at top, suggesting ϒ (but ᴋ not excluded) 4]., upright joining horizontal at mid-level on left as of ʜ, but also ι ligatured with the preceding letter possible .νϛ, speck of ink suggesting tiny rounded letter (ᴏ?); upright with speck of ink at left (top of ϒ?); then top of circle, possibly ᴄ (ᴏ not excluded) 5]κ̣, upright followed by two convergent obliques, ᴋ very likely, but also two letters in ligature not excluded (ᴀᴄ?) η. ., lower left portion of circle (ᴏ, ᴄ?), then foot of oblique suggesting tail of ᴀ (but ᴂ or ᾰ not excluded) ϵ..., abraded surface, space for two or three letters with speck at line-level 7 ϲ., space for one letter on abraded surface 8]ϵ̣, projecting mid-stroke]τ̣, horizontal top on edge 9 ο̣.[, curved top on edge (ϵ, ᴄ?) 11 ..[, faint traces and dots 12 ...., two dots at upper level, an oblique (ᴂ, ᾰ?), a curved arm (top of ϒ?) .ϛ[, dot on abraded surface

fr. 12b

This piece was joined to the major fragment (fr. 12a) by Lobel since the fibres in 12b indicate a position below the right-hand side of 12a. The interval between them cannot be determined.

1].ν̣[, top of vertical (ι? right stem of ʜ, ɴ?) 3]., foot of upright hooked up to the left, not prima facie ɴ 4]ρ̣. .[, tiny loop (ʙ, ᴘ?), then apex of triangular letter (ᴀ or ᾰ), followed by upper left-hand arc of angular circle or sloping horizontal with loop underneath: ϵ ᴏ ᴄ?

fr. 13

].ϲκαιδιηνϵ.[	].ϲ καὶ διηνϵκ̣[
]ϲ̣ιοϲ λιθ[	]ϲιοϲ λιθ[
]ορoδιοϲενᾱπ̣[	] ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν ᾱ π̣[ερὶ
] οιαποτη[	] οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[ϲ
] καιομηρο[	] καὶ Ὅμηρο[ϲ
]ταιλαοιωϲ.[	]ταιλαοιωϲ.[
] αντ[	] αντ[

1]., on edge upright hooked to right with traces of a horizontal stroke on the left: ʜ ᴍ π?

or ι in ligature with the (lost) preceding letter (αι?) .[, below line foot of upright hooked to right 2]ϛ very likely, but perhaps κ not excluded 3 π̣[, upright with flat horizontal top on right; ρ also possible 6 .[, high speck on edge, possibly letter in ligature with preceding ϲ, perhaps ϫ, represented by top cross-stroke

fr. 14

].[ ]κα̣τ̣α̣μ[	].[ ]κα̣τ̣α̣μ[
]ωτωενδι[	]ωτω ἐν δι[
]ωνπαναι[	]ων Παναί[τιοϲ?
]ακρηϲινα̣[	παρ]ὰ Κρηϲὶν α̣[
]αϲ̣κρητ[	]αϲ Κρητ[
]..ηϲ [	]..ηϲ [
].νοναι [	].νοναι [
].[ ].ερ[	].[ ].ερ

1].[, traces of two curving strokes, possibly the loop and the tail of ϡ τ̣, top and part of stem 4 α̣[, loop and part of oblique (ϡ not excluded) 6]..., dot at bottom-line with horizontal top, compatible with ϲ, followed by upright with serif suggesting ι, or traces belong to one letter, π most likely 7]., upright on abraded surface descending below line 8].[, dot at line level]., top of an upright

fr. 15

]κ̣.[
].υκα[

fr. 16

]....[
]υκϵξ̣[
]..[

fr. 17

].κρηϲφ.[
]νιερειϲ[
] [
]ϵκατ̣ιλ[

fr. 18

]ανειϲ[
]μ̣αρδ[
] οϲ̣[
] [.]ζ.[
]μ.[.]η̣[

fr. 15

1 .[, beginning of stroke rising to right 2]., right-hand end of cross-stroke touching top of υ

fr. 16

1]....[, upright below line (ι, ρ?), bottom of tiny circle at line level, horizontal joining upright (middle stroke and right stem of η?), speck on edge 3 ..[, upper part of upright joining oblique as of κ, γ, then speck of ink on edge

fr. 17

1]., upright on edge: η or ι .[, slightly sloping upright on edge

fr. 18

4 ̣[, upright with curved top on edge (Γ Є? Ο, C also possible) 5 ̣[.], top of upright, the left half of a second Μ? Λ or Δ also possible η̣[, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching upright at mid-level as Η, but perhaps ΓΙ, ΛΙ or the like

fr. 19

. . .
]̣π̣ο̣[
]του̣[
]εω̣ργι̣[
. . .

. . . .
]̣π̣ο̣[
]του̣[
γ]εω̣ργικ̣[ῶν ?
. . . .

fr. 20

. . . .
]̣[. .]̣[
]̣ [
] [
] [
]νγ̅γεωρ[
]̣αιδιαυ[
]̣ι̣[ ] [
]εχ̣[
. . . .

. . . . .
]Δ̣[. .]̣[
]̣ [
] [
] [
ἐ]ν γ̅ γεωρ[γικῶν
]̣αιδιαυ[
]̣ι̣[ ] [
]εχ̣[
. . . . .

fr. 19

1]̣, foot of upright, slightly turning right (Ι Υ) ̣[, foot of sloping upright, as right leg of Κ Ν Λ? 2 ̣[, speck above line on edge 3 ω̣, very similar to Ο, missing fibres; for ω, cf. fr. 12a.5 and esp. fr. 20.6 ̣[, oblique on edge as left leg of Κ or Ν

fr. 20

1]̣[, triangular shape with rising oblique to the right]̣[, extremity of upright descending below line-level? 2]̣, triangular shape like a flattened Δ 6]̣, perhaps end of upper arm of Κ 7]̣ι̣[, speck followed by top of upright 8 ̣[, left part of a bowl: Ο ω C? Є less likely

fr. 21

. . .
]̣α̣ [
]ᾱρ[
] [
]αο̣[
. . .

fr. 22

. . .
]̣[
]ρ̣ο[
]̣οιαπα[
]̣cο̣ ̣[
]̣ι [
]ακων̣[
]̣[
. . .

fr. 23

. . .
]̣ . . [
]ερ̣[
]ηρ̣[
]ν[
. . .

fr. 24

. .
]ιδε[
]ιυμ[
]ο̣εθ̣[
. .

fr. 21

1]̣α̣ [, lower part of vertical joining to loop of Λ 4 ̣[, foot of upright descending below the line as Ι or Ρ

fr. 22

1]. [, speck on edge 2]ρ., at interval from ρ upper part of upright, perhaps trace to right of top, as ϝ, ι 3]., high slightly curved top, c likely, but ϵ not excluded 4]., traces of large loop on abraded surface, ⍲ ⍋ ω? ..[, two uprights with traces of ink at mid-level, as ʜ or ι followed by an upright, as ϝ π ι ρ 5]., traces (perhaps of arc) on edge 7]. [, dot on edge

fr. 23

1]...[, faint traces of 2–3 letters, second with diagonal below the line (χ?) 2 .[, upright on edge with traces of horizontal top: ϝ or π 3 .[, left-hand part of rounded letter on edge with traces of horizontal stroke at mid-level, ϵ or ϑ

fr. 24

3]ọ, remains of circle, but not joined at right, thus perhaps c not excluded θ̣[, circle cut by a horizontal or projecting middle stroke of preceding ϵ

fr. 25	fr. 26	fr. 27	fr. 28
. . .		. .	
]πα.με̣[	]ω̣ν [	]ημα̣[	] [
]κα.ει̣[	]ην [	].θ[	]..[
]...[	] [	. .	. .
. . .	].οι [		
	. . .		

fr. 25

1 ., traces of rounded letter on abraded surface 2 ., foot of sloping upright on abraded surface followed by a hole, as left stem of ⍲, insufficient space for ⍀ or ɴ ι̣[, upper part of upright ligatured to ϵ, as ι 3]...[, remnants of rounded letter, three verticals and other traces in space for at least three letters

fr. 26

4]., dot above line (end of a horizontal top?) and sloping horizontal in ligature with bottom of ο, suggesting ⍋ or ⍲, perhaps ⍀ or ϲ

fr. 27

2]., triangular shape suggesting ⍋ or ⍲

fr. 28

2]., tiny loop suggesting ρ or ʙ .[, part of circle, ϲ not excluded

fr. 2 col. i

It is likely that this column began with lemmata in *κυ-* or *κω-*, for the reasons given below on 8; the following column has lemmata starting with *λα*, and we seem to have a break in the text signalled here after line 5 or 6.

4]*ν πολειτεία̣*. To judge from **1802** fr. 3 iii 59–60 *Ἀριστοτέ*]|*λης ἐν τῇ Σολέων πολειτεία̣*, all of the instances of *πολειτεία* in the new fragments (2 i 4; 2 i 8; 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.21) are likely to be in the dative, forming part of a title introduced by *ἐν*, i.e. a citation of the source for the explanation

of the gloss, probably near the end of the entry (all these cases of *πολειτείᾳ* occur at ends of lines). Between *ἐ]ν* and *πολειτείᾳ* we would expect a genitive plural of the people whose constitution was treated in the work, or an ethnic adjective ending in *-ικος*, i.e. *ἐν -ικῇ πολιτείᾳ*. Here *]ν* suggests the former, and supports the notion that (as in 8) we have a work by Aristotle cited here (see below, fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.21 n.); if by Aristotle (though see 8 n.), the list of candidates for the supplement of the name of the city is a long one (Aristotle was credited with 'constitutions' of at least 158 states: Diog. Laer. V 27.1; frr. 381–603 Rose).

5 *Ἀντήνωρ*: an antiquarian writer from Crete (FGrH 463) active in the 2nd century BC.

6–7 Blank as preserved. The first half of 6 might have concluded, well before line-end, the entry beginning in 5; line 7, however, must have been left blank, for the reasons explained below on line 8.

8 *Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Θεσσ]αλῶν πολειτείᾳ* [. Λ *Θεσσαλῶν* (or *Θετταλῶν*) *πολιτεία* by Aristotle is mentioned by Athen. XI 499d and *schol.* Eur. *Rhes.* 311 (ii p. 334 Schwartz) = Aristotle frr. 498–9 Rose; a *κοινὴ Θετταλῶν πολιτεία* by Harpocratio s.v. *τετραρχία* (fr. 487 Rose). Critias too wrote a work of the same title (Athen. XIV 663a, cf. XII 527b; Critias 88 B 31 DK). No doubt Aristotle is more likely to be cited as an authority, and fr. 499 has a special interest here: *θηλυκῶς λέγεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν τὴν λάγυνον*, since it is commenting on the word *λάγυνος*, 'flask'. Presumably the lemma *λάγυνος* stood at the beginning of the line; if so, it would be the first word in *λ-* in the glossary, preceded by a blank space (apparently left at the level of line 7) as marking the end of the letter *κ* and the beginning of *λ* (as proposed by J. J. Keaney, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 198).

fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5

1 *Σκυ[θικ]ῶν*. For works on Scythians (a number of them known to have extended to at least three books) see generally FGrH IIIC pp. 927 ff.

2–4 The lemma could be *Μαργιανοί* (so already Hunt): cf. Strabo 11.8.1 who mentions *Ἄμαρδοι* (other name of *Μάρδοι*; cf. Strabo 11.13.3), *Μαργιανοί* and *Σκύθαι* as closely connected. The Mardoi were a population of the area of the Black Sea living on piracy: Steph. Byz. 432.15 *Μάρδοι, ἔθνος Ὑρκανῶν. Ἀπολλόδωρος* (FGrH 244 F 316) *Περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ. λῃσταὶ δ' οὗτοι καὶ τοξόται.* The name *Μάρδοι* can perhaps be read also in fr. 18.2 (below). At 3–4 Hunt restored *ἐ]νθουσιά|[ζουσι*, thinking that the *Μαργιανοί* (associated with the Mardoi by Strabo) might be connected with *μάργος*, 'mad' (cf. Hsch. *μ* 264).

5 *]. λοι Ἀντικλε[ίδη]ς*: *δ]ηλοῖ* possible; [*ιδη*] just about possible, though a tight squeeze, as Hunt notes. Anticleides, an Athenian historian who flourished in the early 3rd century BC, wrote a History of Alexander, *Deliaka*, and *Nostoi* (FGrH 140). At Athen. XI 473b he is credited with an *Ἐξηγητικόν*, probably by confusion with Autocleides (FGrH 353), who certainly wrote a work of that title explaining religious terms and usages. Presumably it is the same Autocleides who is cited in **1802** fr. 3 iii 62 (= FGrH 353 F 6) for an explanation of *μιεστηρ* (i.e. *μιάστωρ*?). Since 3 *ἐ]νθουσια-* might have a ritual reference, we could wonder whether *Ἀντι-* here is a mistake for *Αὐτο-*. But in a damaged context this remains entirely speculative.

6 *Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης ἐν*: suggested by Hunt, who wanted to restore *ἐν* [.] *ἐπι[γρ]α|[μμάτων* and understand thus Asclepiades of Samos, epigrammatist of the 3rd century BC. But this reading is not only called into question by the difficulty of reading *ι* after the *π* (a thick upright is joined at mid-height by a horizontal stroke, which would suggest Η or ΙΤ rather than ΙΓ), but there is no evidence for epigrams of Asclepiades in numbered books, and the reading is in any case excluded by the rules of syllable division. On the other hand, we know of many historians by this name: Asclepiades of Tragilos, 4th century BC (FGrH 12); Asclepiades of Myrlea, 2nd/1st century BC (FGrH 697); Asclepiades of Cyprus (FGrH 752). There are also two physicians with this name: Asclepiades of Bithynia, 2nd/1st century, and Asclepiades the Younger, 1st/2nd century AD. Perhaps the best candidate, in keeping

with the historical and antiquarian interests of most of the authorities in the glossary, is Asclepiades of Myrlea, whose interest in foreign peoples was exemplified e.g. by his treatise on Bithynians.

8 ηρα.[.....]c. Hunt suggested Ἡρακ[λείδη]c. If correct, he could be the same as the Heraclides author of a work entitled *ξένη φωνή* quoted in **1802** fr. 3 iii 66. But there are other possibilities (cf. *RE* XV s.v. Herakleides): e.g. the ethnographer Heraclides of Cymae (4th century BC), Heraclides the geographer (3rd cent. BC), Heraclides Lembus, grammarian and historian (2nd century BC).

10] *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσιαν α*[: cf. 17 (same work?). A historical or ethnographic work about Asia, not identified elsewhere. There is a superficial similarity with Ctesias' *περὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀσίαν φόρων* (FGrH 688 F 53–4).

12]αντροc. The only solution seems to read Ἡγήc]ανδροc, as suggested by Lobel; he was already quoted in fr. 3 iii 74 (see note) and the exchange between δ and τ is frequent in the Roman and Byzantine periods especially after ν: Gignac, *Grammar* i 76–7, 81.

13 *Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος*: Dionysius of Utica (1st century BC) is mentioned by Athen. XIV 648e and *Scholia in Lucianum* 46, 3.6 Rabe as author of a *Γεωργικά*, a translation of the work on agriculture of the Carthaginian Mago, and by Steph. Byz. 342.3 as author of *Ῥιζοτομικά*, a herbal treatise.

21]...ικῇ *πολειτείᾳ*: citation of a work on a constitution. Those ascribed to Aristotle are always cited as *ἐν* [- - -]*ων πολιτείᾳ*, i.e. with the genitive plural of the citizens (rather than with an ethnic adjective), which casts doubt on the supposition that a 'constitution' of Aristotle's is cited. Athenaeus, who always cites Aristotle's constitutions in this way, does use the adjective for the homonymous work by the Stoic Persaeus, pupil of Zenon (Athen. IV 140b, 140e–f) *Περσαῖος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ*. *Suda* α 3254 speaks of *τῇ Περσικῇ πολιτείᾳ*, which would suit the interest in Persian glosses elsewhere in this lexicon, but the reference is not in citation of a work, but rather to a 'man who is honoured according to (or by) the Persian constitution'. In any case, none of these suit the traces in the papyrus before the ending *-ικῇ* in **4812**: an upright (ι?) and a stroke descending to right (λ, γ?).

27]*ρθοι*. Hunt suggested *Πά*]*ρθοι*.

Fr. 6 + 9

3 *ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ*: a work on some aspect of Troy. A possible guess would be *τῷ Τρωϊκῷ διακόσμῳ*, i.e. a citation of the work on the disposition of the Trojan plain by Demetrius of Scepsis, known from Sch. Ap. Rh. 1.1165 *Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ διακόσμῳ*. Another possibility is to read *ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ καταλόγῳ* in reference to the catalogue of ships in *Il.* 2. Still other possibilities: *ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ*, in the Trojan war, *ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πεδίῳ*, in the Trojan plain, both common expressions, though perhaps less satisfactory here.

4]δροcο...ιοχευc [. Possible is]δροc (perhaps Ἀλέξαν]δροc, but that is not the only possibility), then ὁ? But after that ἡνιοχεύc (suggesting an Homeric context) is ruled out by the traces; these, however, allow Ἀντιοχεύc, which is what Hunt read. Allen suggested privately to Hunt Ἀλέξαν]δροc ὁ Ἀντιοχεύc, who he thought might have been cited in a lost work *Parthica* by Appian (cf. above on fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.27); but if this is correct, he is elsewhere unidentified.

6] *βλέφα*[*ρα*] *παρὰ Χα*[*λδαίοις*? If correct, we might suppose that the lemma was an Akkadian word for 'eyelids' or 'eyes'. This would be *īnu*, 'eye', which could be accommodated in the implied alphabetical order of the glossary. If the word is instead Iranian, the Iranian root for 'eyelids' is *mr-žng*, which in Persian becomes *mozhe*. It could become something like *μόζη* or similar when transcribed into Greek. This too would fit the alphabetical order.

8]..ς μοιχ[..].ον.[. The sequence *μοιχ* seems to suggest that we are dealing with a derivative of the verb *μοιχάομαι*, or *μοιχεύω*, 'commit adultery'; the gloss could thus be about something related to words for adultery or adulterer.

10 *κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην*: a citation of a work about Libya (cf. Asia in fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.10, 17), an explanation of a Libyan word, or part of an explanation having something to do with Libya.

13 π]αρὰ Πέρ[c]α̣ις ἐ̣π̣[ὶ τοῦ. If the restoration is correct, the lemma was a Persian word ('found among Persians', 'in Persian', παρὰ Πέρσαις), and the explanation is of what the word is used for, i.e. means (ἐπί τοῦ + genitive; hence τοῦ, *exempli gratia*).

20 Βή]ρωcoc ἐ̣ν̣ ¯ Βαβυλω[νιακῶν: the first of the quotations of the *Babyloniaka* of Berossus (FGrH 680). The book number is not clear: horizontal top joining an upright could suit Γ Z Ƶ Τ. For Berossus' *Babyloniaka* three books are attested, so the only possible reading would be γ, the third book.

21]̣c Ξεν[ο]φῶν ἐν β̄ π̣[ερί. If the letter after the numeral is γ or π we must look for a work by Xenophon beginning with one of these letters; there are not many options, because among his works the only ones meeting this criterion are περὶ ἱππικῆς and περὶ προσόδων (the other title for *Poroi*), but these works do not have more than one book. However it could be an alternative title in the form 'the work on *x*' and in this case (with περί + gen.) it could be any of the works by Xenophon. Out of the main interest in Babylonian and Persian glosses of the lexicon, a quotation from the *Cyropaedia* (περὶ τῆς Κύρου παιδείας?) or perhaps from the *Anabasis* (περὶ Ἀναβάσεως?) seems the most likely hypothesis.

22 δύ[ο το]ί̣χους τεθυρ[ωμένους: 'two walls with doors'. The verb θυρόω, 'furnish with doors', is not common and is never used in connection with τοῖχος. Probably we have part of the same entry as the previous one; therefore we may assume that the quotation of Xenophon goes together with it. An analysis of the works of Xenophon for the words τοῖχ- and θυρ- has shown that, whereas there are not many attestations of τοῖχος and derivatives, the word θύρα and derivatives is (perhaps not surprisingly) frequent, particularly in *Cyropaedia*, where it is often used of gates of cities; as such δύ[ο το]ί̣χους τεθυρ[ωμένους might paraphrase a description in that work of city-walls with gates built into them.

fr. 12a

3–6 These lines seem to be part of the same entry, discussing a Phoenician word probably meaning 'corn-store', as the explanation seems to suggest (ἑ]ρμηνεύεται πυροῦ | e.g. θησαυρὸς δ]ιὰ τὸ τὸν πυρὸν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς | [Φοίνι]κας ὑποθησαυρίζειν). The lemma itself cannot be determined with certainty. Lobel suggested Πυραμίδες from Steph. Byz. 540.14 ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ πυραμίδες ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖ cυναγαγὼν ὁ βαcιλεὺc ἔνδειαν ἐποίηcε cίτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. However, it is hard to restore Πυραμίδες as a lemma for this entry; π would probably be too far from the rest of the preserved part of the glossary, where there is no evidence of lemmata beginning with letters after μ (but cf. entry in 9–10, lemma beginning with θ or ο?).

3 ἑ]ρμηνεύεται can mean not only 'explain', but also 'interpret foreign words', i.e. 'translate into Greek'; cf. Steph. Byz. 340.14 ὑπὸ δὲ Φοινίκων Κέλλα ῥαcφαθ ὃ ἑρμηνεύται ἱcτὸc νεώc. Here it introduces the explanation of the meaning of the word(s) in the lemma earlier in the line.

5 ὑποθησαυρίζειν: only here; the closest parallel is ἀποθησαυρίζειν in late writers.

5–6 ὡc Ἑc̣τ̣ιαῖ̣[ος ἐν] ¯ περὶ Φονείκης. Among authors who wrote Φοινικικά at least one name begins with ε: Hestiaeus (FGrH 786), and that fits both the space and the traces.

Lobel noted that, if the supplements at the beginnings of ll. 5, 6, 8 are complete, the width of this column will have been considerably narrower than that of fr. 3 ii and iii. Unfortunately, apart from this poorly-preserved column and those in fr. 3, we do not have any other evidence of other columns; a variation in terms of width is not impossible but cannot be proved further.

7–8]ων ἐντοc̣τιδίων τι ὡc Ἐρα̣cί̣cτρα̣|[τος] ἐ̣ν̣ τῷ Ὀ[ψαρ]τ̣υτικῷ̣: a new fragment of the Ὀψαρτυτικά of the physician Erasistratus (fr. 290 Garofalo; cf. Athen. VII 342a Ἐρασίστρατος ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ, not in Garofalo).

9–10] θάλαcca κατὰ Πέρcας. Βήρωccoc | [ἐν] β̄ Βαβυλωνιακῶν. Paralleled at FGrH 680 F 1 (b) ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμόρωκα· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαιστὶ μὲν †Θαλαθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεcθαι θάλαcca (from the first book of the *Babyloniaka*). The lemma is uncertain: perhaps Θαλαθ or Ὁμόρωκα (both consistent with the alphabetical order of the glossary). Θαλαθ

is a corruption of the Chaldaean Tiamat: the form used by Berossus, however, is disputed: possibly Thamte, which in Greek would be spelled as *Θαμτε*. *Ὁμόρωκα*, instead, was the name of a woman, who, according to Berossus, ruled over the first living beings.

fr. 13

The beginnings of three entries are visible (2, 4, 7), but lemmata are missing except for the ending *-cιος* in 2.

1 *διηνεκ*[: perhaps a derivative of *διηνεκής*.

2]*cιος λιθ*[. The lemma may be the name of a stone, as the beginning of the explanation (*λιθ*[) seems to suggest.

3] *ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν ᾱ π*[*ερὶ*. The citation of the Rhodian authority pertains to the same entry as line 2. Any number of authorities who hailed from Rhodes who could be meant here. Strabo 14.2.13 lists *ἄνδρες μνήμης ἄξιοι* who were *Ῥόδιοι* or were described as such, e.g. Apollonius Rhodius, Panaetius (cf. infra fr. 14), Andronicus, Timachidas, and Callixenus; catalogued in B. Mygind, 'Intellectuals in Rhodes', in V. Gabrielsen et al. (edd.), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society* (Aarhus 1999) 247–93.

5] *καὶ Ὁμηρο*[*c*: introducing the only citation from Homer thus far in the glossary, which does not seem interested in explaining Homeric or poetic diction in general; all lemmata seem to be prosaic and technical rather than poetic words. Here, however, a rare Greek word, or a word from a particular dialect, or perhaps a foreign 'eastern' word was presumably explained by recourse to Homeric usage (cf. on 6). All the other preserved authorities quoted are historians or antiquarian writers. An exception would be Apollonius of Rhodes (if his name is to be restored in l. 2), but if so, he was probably invoked more as a source of the explanation than as literary attestation.

6]*ταιλαοιωc*.[: *-ται λαοὶ ὡς* looks possible, especially in the context of the citation of Homer in the previous line—not, however, a Homeric quotation; but then most of the citations of authorities in the explanations are not direct quotations, but conflations and paraphrases.

fr. 14

3 *Παναί*[*τιος* seems attractive, especially with a Rhodian source cited in fr. 13.3. However a reading]*ων πᾶν αι*[cannot be ruled out.

4–5 In the light of]*ακρηcινα*[and]*αcκρητ*[, the entry seems to have dealt with a Cretan gloss.

fr. 15

2].*υκα*[. Among other possibilities, *Ἴ*]*τυκα*[*ι-* (Lobel) could be tried, i.e. Dionysius of Utica (above fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.13).

fr. 17

1].*κρηcφ*.[: a Cretan gloss?

2]*νιερειc*[: perhaps]*νι ερειc*[, or, more likely]*ν ἱερεῖc*.

fr. 18

2]*μαρδ*[: probably *Μάρδοι* (mentioned in fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.4) or a derivative.

3] *οc*[. The space marks the beginning of the explanation of the lemma.

5]*μ*.[.]*η*: possibly the beginning of another entry, perhaps starting with *μ*. If this fragment contained words in *μ*, as appears from ll. 2 and 5, this scrap could have belonged to fr. 3 col. i. There is support for this view in the fact that the other side (front) of both displays tops of columns. Moreover *Μάρδοι* are mentioned in fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.4, which could suggest that this scrap belongs to one

of the lemmata or explanations in that column. However, it is not possible to join this fragment with fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.3–4 as proposed by Lobel, unless we suppose a gap between the two.

fr. 19

3 γ]εωργικ̣[ῶν? (proposed by Lobel) seems reasonable, i.e. a citation from a certain book of a work on agriculture; cf. the parallel expression in fr. 20.6. Another citation from the Sicilian Dionysius of Utica quoted in fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5.13? (according to *Scholia in Lucianum* 46, 3.7 Rabe his translation of the Carthaginian Mago's γεωργικά was in more than one book).

fr. 20

The handwriting appears slightly different in certain respects from that of the other fragments (cf. esp. ϡ and ω), but this may be due to a change of pen. The content however is in keeping with the glossary.

6]νγ̄γεωρ[: perhaps ἐ]ν γ̄ γεωρ[γικ-, i.e. the third book of a work dealing with agriculture. A similar work, or at least something connected with the root γεωργ-, is cited in fr. 19.

7]̣αιδιαυ[: possibly κ̣αὶ δι' αὐ[τό.

fr. 21

2]ᾱρ[. The first letter is a numeral, presumably a book number. For possible titles in ῥ-, cf. (περὶ) ῥητορικῆς (τέχνης), Ῥωμαίων ἱστορία, Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, and the like.

fr. 25

2]καλ̣εῖ̣[ται?

F. SCHIRONI

III. HOMER AND HOMERICA

4813–4816. Homer, *Iliad*

These four papyri, already listed and quoted in M. L. West's Teubner text (1998–2000), are here published in full. **4813** and **4815** have already appeared in *Aegyptus* 84 (2004) 101–23 with pll. I–II. The versions in this volume take account of a further microscopic examination of the originals by Dr Coles, except for **4813** frr. 1–4, which were not available.

The editors have used West's edition as the basis of collation, with consultation of the edition of H. van Thiel (1996); more detailed information about the readings of the medieval MSS has been supplied from the editions of A. Ludwich (1902–7) and T. W. Allen (*editio maior*, 1931). The MSS, unless otherwise specified, are quoted by West's sigla. Other published papyri of the *Iliad* are quoted by their number in the catalogue of Allen, Sutton, and West; see Martin L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001) 86–138.

4813. Homer, *Iliad* I 90–92, 95–100, 119–25, 128–53

45 5B.31/K(1)a Fr. 5 5.7 × 17.3 cm Third century
Π^{732}; LDAB 9260; MP^3 573.001

Five fragments of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres; on the back a few traces of ink, perhaps documentary writing, perhaps simply offsets. No trace of *kollesis* survives.

Fr. 3 (*Il.* 1.119–125) preserves parts of the upper margin (at least 1.6 cm), and frr. 4+5 (*Il.* 1.128–153) must follow shortly below, as part of the same column, which therefore contained at least 35 lines. Presumably this book, the first of the *Iliad*, began the roll; on the assumption that it began also from the first line of a column (i.e. that there was no prefatory matter), we could hypothesize that the original column held 39/40 lines. Thus cols. i–iii contained verses 1–118, and our frr. 1–2 fell within col. iii; col. iv contained 119–*c.*158. After col. iv we could estimate that the rest of the book required eleven full columns and half of a twelfth. The whole book would thus require sixteen columns. From frr. 3–5 we can estimate the written height of a column at *c.*26 cm (roll height *c.*31 cm), and the written width at *c.*12 cm; allowing *c.*2 cm for the intercolumnium the roll length (for *Iliad* I alone) would be *c.*2.25 m, a figure compatible with the length of other Homeric papyri from Oxyrhynchus (see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 185–96).

The text was copied in an informal upright hand of medium size. The letters

are traced in a semi-cursive way, with more angular than rounded shapes and some pseudo-ligatures: in particular, note β with its lower part triangular, δ with the right-hand oblique projecting above the apex and curving gently to the left, the branches of κ and the stems of ι and φ artificially stretched, μ looped, ο in an oval form, ω with flattened base and raised above line-level. The ornamentation is very irregular: only short hooks at the top of the oblique strokes in λ, δ, and sometimes thickenings on the vertical of ι or on the oblique branch of υ. The general appearance suggests a certain resemblance to the Chancery hands (for literary texts in such a script see T. Renner, *Pap. Congr. XXI* ii 827–34): see PSI X 1148 of 210 (*Aegyptus* 45 (1965), tav. 8 = Pap. Flor. XXXVI tav. IIa); among literary texts cf. PSI II 127 (Pap. Flor. XXX, tav. XXXI), assigned to the third century. **4813** should be assigned to the same period.

An interlinear addition in 150 and almost all of the lectional signs are in a different ink and can be assigned to a second hand, which revised the text with a thicker pen in lighter ink. We have many acute accents (in 131 and 146 by the first hand?); circumflex in 134, 151; grave in 133, 145. Rough breathing in 120. Elision always marked (131, 133, 134, 138, 142). Diaereses in 124, 131 ('organic' use), 143, 147 (twice). Punctuation in 99, 119 (both by the first hand), hyphen in 122. There are itacistic mistakes by the first scribe in 131, 149, 150. Iota adscript is not written in 98 *φιλ*]*ω*.

The text offers no readings of particular interest, but see 97, 122 and 138 with notes.

Published papyri which overlap with this piece are Π^{456}, Π^{56}, Π^{116}, Π^{118}, Π^{119}, Π^{272}, Π^{273}, Π^{354}, Π^{455a}, Π^{524}, Π^{526}, Π^{527}, Π^{663}, Π^{676} and P. Montserrat (= Barc. inv. 49 = LDAB 8015 = MP^3 580.11; not in West).

Fr. 1

. . .
90 *Δα*]*ναων* [
αριϲ]*τοϲ ενι*[*ι*
].[
. . .

91 The papyrus agrees with Π^{116} Π^{453a} and the main medieval MSS in reading *ἐνὶ στρατῷ*: cf. Sch^{AT} Hom. *Il.* I 91 (I 34–5 Erbse). *Ἀχαιῶν* Zen Sosig Arph Ar Π^{733}: *ἀνὰ στρατόν* Laur. pl. 32.18, Laur. pl. 91 sup. 2, Paris. gr. 2894, Vat. gr. 903.

Fr. 2

. . . .
95].[
Ε]*κηβο*[*λοϲ*
] *βαρειαϲ χει*[*ραϲ*

φιλ]ω δομ[εναι
αναποιν]ον· άγειν θ̣ [
μ]ι̣ν ι̣λαccα̣[μενοι
. . . .

96 This line was athetized by Aristarchus and omitted in A B T Lips. 32.

97 The papyrus agrees with Zenodotus' reading (cf. Sch^{A} *Il.* I 97 [I 36 Erbse] "*Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει*". *οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου. καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥιανοῦ* (fr. 7 M.) *τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον· ἔοικε οὖν ἡ ἑτέρα Ζηνοδότου εἶναι ἡ "οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει"*). This text was preferred in many papyri (Π^{116} Π^{272} Π^{273} Π^{727} Π^{729} Π^{736} Π^{737} h^{15}a) and MSS (A T). The text that Rhianus and Aristarchus preferred (*Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει*) was already in the Massaliotica, and is attested, to the best of my knowledge, only in Π^{733}.

100 ι̣λαccα̣[μενοι: there seems to be no trace of diaeresis above the initial iota.

Fr. 3

ε]ω̣· επ̣[ει
παντε]ς̣ ὁ μ̣οι γερ[ας
πο]δάρκης δι[ος
φιλοκτ]ε̲α̲νώτα[τε
δως]ουσι γ̣ε̣ρας μ̣ε̣[γαθυμοι
ιδμε]ν ξυνήϊα [
πολι]ω̣ν εξε̣πρα̣[θομεν

(2 lines lost)

Fr. 4

Τρο]ι̣η̣[ν ευτειχεο]ν ε̣ξαλαπά̣[ξαι
απαμειβομ]ενο[c] π̣[ροcε]φη κρ̣ειω̣[ν
αγαθο]c περ ε̣ω̣[ν θ]ε̣οΐκελ'..[
ο]υ̣ παρ̣[ελευcεα]ι ουδέ μ̣[ε
] α̣υταρ ἐμ' αυ̣[τως
δ]ε με τῆνδ' [
μ]εγα̣θυμ[οι
] αντάξιο[ν
δ]έ̣ κεν αυτ[ος
] ηδ' Οδυcc[ηος
κεχολώ]c̣εται ον κ̣[εν
μεταφρ]α̣c̣όμεcθ[α
].[....ε]ρ̣υ̣c̣[ομεν
] αγειρομεν ε[]c δ' ε[κατομβην
αυτη]ν Χρ[υ]c̣ηϊδα κ̣αλλι[παρηον

Fr. 5

κ]ε̣ ποθι Ζ̣[ευc

αρ]χος ανηρ βουληφ[ορος
] ἠ διος Οδυσ̣σ̣[υς
π]αντω[ν] εκπαγλότα[τ-
εκαερ]γον ϊλ̣[΄.]σεαι ϊ[ε]ρ̣α [
ι]δ̣ων προσ̣εφη ποδα[ς
΄] ε̣π̣ιεμένε κ̣ερ̣δ[αλεοφρον
προφ]ρων ‘επεσιν’ πιθηται Αχα[ιων
].....[..].ιν ἰφ[ι
]..[c.4] η̣λ̣υθον̣ [
]΄.[

122 The papyrus agrees with Π^{273} tt Ω (Π^{524} offers the garbled φιλεκτανοταῖ[ε), whereas Aristophanes (according to Seleucus *ap.* Eustath. 1441.18; see W. J. Slater (ed.), *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (SGLG 6: Berlin/New York 1986) 175) preferred φιλοκτεανέστατε. Π^{263a}, a Byzantine school-text written on a series of ostraca, has αναξ αν]δρων Αγαμ[εμνον.

131 θ]ε̣οἰκελ᾽..[: θεοείκελ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῦ MSS, but the last two traces do not suggest αχ.

132 ουδέ μ̣[ε. The scribe placed an acute accent over an oxytone followed by an enclitic according to the general rule, attested in the papyri; see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 142.

134 τῆνδ᾽: the accentuation adopted by Herodian (see Schol. *Od.* 1.185; Schol. *Il.* 8.109c with Erbse's note) and preserved also in A B T (see Allen, *Prolegomena* 231–2): τήνδ᾽ the other MSS. Donatus preferred (*Comm. in* Ter. *Ad.* 460) the variant πάντ᾽.

135 μ]εγα̣θυμ[οι. α̣ is represented by an oblique trace high in the line (suggesting a grave accent, but too low down to be one).

138] ηδ᾽ Οδυσ[ηος with D (= Laur. pl. 32.15), a tenth-century manuscript, where however Books I–IV were supplied in the twelfth century, with some ancient readings (further information in West, pp. x, xiii f.): ἦ Ὀδ- the remaining MSS (Ὀδυσῆος most MSS: Ὀδυσσῆος G H^1 T^1 and a few others). The next line was athetized by Aristarchus, but this seems to have no connection with the variant.

140–41 Between these lines two scattered traces of ink: an interlinear addition?

142 αγειρομεν with Π^{116} Π^{732} Z Ω: εγειρ- Π^{56}: εγερ̣ο̣[Π^{524}.

ε[ ]c. There is room for a narrow letter between ε and c: perhaps the papyrus preserved ε[ι]c.

143 This line was athetized by Zenodotus.

146 εκπαγλότα[τ-. The accent is written in darker ink.

147 ϊλ̣[΄.]σεαι: ἰλάσσεαι most MSS, but [ας] looks too wide for the space.

148 ἄρ᾽ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν with Π^{56} Π^{116} Π^{119} and all MSS: τ̣ο̣ν̣ δ᾽ ἀ̣π̣αμειβόμενος π̣ρ̣[Π^{524}.

149 ΄]. The high oblique trace looks like an accent (but in the black ink of the first hand), although no accent is expected (ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε MSS).

ε̣π̣ιεμένε. Space might allow the expected -ε[ι]μένε, but there is no trace of the iota where it might be expected to show below the line.

150 ἔπεσιν with B H and many other MSS.

πιθηται, l. πείθηται: so most MSS (-θοιτο a few).

151 The transmitted text suggests]. . α̣ν̣δ̣[ρα]ς̣ιν, but α̣ν̣δ̣ is hard to reconcile with the traces.

152]..[. Two specks of ink at line-top, and an accent by the second hand?

G. UCCIARDELLO

4814. Homer, *Iliad* III 319–47

37 4B.109/H(3–5)a 13.9 × 17.4 cm Early fourth century
Π^{927}; LDAB 9408; MP3 697.001

A fragment of a papyrus roll with remains of two columns (of col. i only a few letters survive), written across the fibres on the back of a document, perhaps a register of houses, assignable to the middle of the third century, and upside down in relation to it. The intercolumnium measures 3 cm; the upper margin is extant to *c.*1 cm. A *kollesis*, at least 1 cm wide, is visible near the left edge. The average width of the column can be estimated at about 11 cm. The identification of the line-ends of col. i is doubtful: if we assume that lines 2 and 5 correspond to verses 267 and 270, we may think of a column of 52–3 lines; if so, the column height would have been about 29 cm, and the roll height some 32 cm or more.

The text is written in an informal upright hand of medium size, with some features that resemble the Severe Style. Bilinearity is only roughly respected: ϕ λ ι τ (and sometimes π μ) are extended to reach below the baseline; α is written in one stroke with a high loop, ω with well rounded sides and a flattened base, Δ with the right-hand diagonal projecting above the apex and hooked to the left; in κ the oblique strokes tend to be lengthened; in μ the middle strokes form a curve which touches the baseline; in ε the crossbar is very long and sometimes touches the next letter. We could assign this hand to the late third or, more probably, the early fourth century; compare e.g. *GBEBP* 1b (XI **1358**), assigned to the early fourth century, and 8a, a Coptic letter datable *c.*330–40 AD.

Itacisms in 320, 329, 336. No trace of punctuation, no elision marks; iota adscript is not written. Traces of lectional signs at 319, 321–3 (of uncertain meaning) and 342 (see n.). Traces of an uncertain sign (stichometric?) in the intercolumnium near 324. Also noteworthy are the blank spaces between syllables or vowels (cf. e.g. 328 *-σιν εδυσατο*), possibly due to the vertical fibres that made writing difficult.

Papyri that overlap with this fragment are Π^{3}, Π^{4}, Π^{40}, $\Pi^{49+392a}$, and Π^{560}.

Textually the papyrus offers no variants of particular interest. At 324 *ἄρα* is omitted, clearly by mistake; the omission of 343 is perhaps more interesting (see below).

col. i		col. ii	
	]		⁄ω[δε δ]ε τις ε[ιπ]εσκεν Αχαιων [
	].ν	320	Ζ[ευ πα]τερ Ει[δηθ]εν μεδεων κυ[διστε
	]		ο̣π̣π̣[οτ]ε̣ρος τ̣[αδ]ε εργα μετ αμφοτε[ροισιν
	]		τ̣ον δος απ̣ο̣[φθι]μ̣ε̣νο̣ν δυναι δομ̣[ον
270?	εχευ]α̣ν		⁄ημιν αυ φιλ[ο]τ̣ητ[α κ]α̣ι̣ [ο]ρκια πιστα̣ [
	]		ως ε̣φ̣[α]ν παλλεν δε̣ μεγας κο̣[ρ]υ̣θ̣[αιολος
	]	325	αψ ορροω̣ν Παριος δε θοως εκ κλῃ[ρος

]. ạ̣ οι μεν ε̣π̣ειθ ιζοντο κατα ς̣τ̣ιχας η[χι
] ιπποι ạ̣ε̣[ρ]ςιποδες και ποικιλα τευ̣[χεα
] αυταρ ο γ̣ ạμ̣φ ωμοιςιν εδυ̣ςατο τ̣[ευχεα
] δειος Αλ̣ε̣ξ̣ανδρος Ελενη[ς] π̣οςις̣ η̣[υκομοιο
] κνημιδạς μεν πρωτα περι̣ κνημη̣[ςιν
] καλας αργ̣υρεοιςιν επιςφυριο̣ι̣[ς] ạρ̣[αρυιας
] δε̣υ̣τερον αυ θωρηκα περι ςτ̣[ηθ]ες̣[ςιν
] οιο κασιγνητοιο Λυκαονος η̣[ρμος]ε̣ [
] αμ̣φι δ αρ̣ [ω]μοιςιν β̣αλετο [
] χ̣αλκεον αυ̣τ̣αρ επειτα ςακος̣ [
] κ̣ρ̣ạτ̣ιδ επ ι̣φθειμω̣ κυνεη̣[ν
] ιπ̣που̣ριν δεινο[ν] δε λοφ̣[ος
] ει̣λ̣ε̣το δ̣ ạλ̣κιμ̣ο̣[ν
] ως δ αυ̣τ̣ω̣ς̣ Μενελ̣[αος
] ο̣ι̣ δ̣ [επει] ο̣υ̣ν̣ ε̣κ̣ατερθ̣[εν
] ε̣ς̣ [μεςςο]ν̣ Τ̣ρ̣ωων κ[αι
] δε[ινον] δ̣ε̣ρ̣κ̣ο̣μενο[ι
] κα[ι ρ εγγ]υ̣ς [ςτ]ητην δια[μετρητω
] ςε̣[ιοντ εγ]χ̣[ε]ιας αλληλ[οιςιν
] π̣[ροςθε δ Αλ]ε̣ξανδρος [
] Ατρε]ιδαο κạ[τ

Col. i

267?]. ν̣: before ν remains of ink on the line: Ἀγαμέμνων MSS.

270? εχευ]ạν: ἔχευαν Π³ Π⁴⁶⁸ᵇ A D F G Z: ἔχευον Aristarchus (cf. Sch^A *Il.* 3.270b1 [I 407 Erbse]), A^s and many MSS.

273?]. ạ: scattered traces of ink: ἔπειτα MSS.

Col. ii

319–23 Oblique strokes in the margin to the left of 319 and of the line-space between 322 and 323; uncertain ink to the left of 321–2. Such oblique strokes have many functions (here possibly to mark off the short speech); see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 17.

319 is omitted in Π⁴⁹⁺³⁹²ᵃ.

321 τ̣[αδ]ε: τάδε most MSS: τὰ δὲ Z (in the lemma).

322 τ̣ον. Above τ̣, remains of another upright: a correction?

323 ημιν αυ with Π³: ἡμῖν δ' αὖ MSS. There is a short blank space between ημιν and αυ, and at the corresponding place in the lines following: presumably the scribe was avoiding a vertical strip of rough fibres.

324 ως ε̣φ̣[α]ν: ὣς (ὡς A T) ἄρα (ἄρ T ἂρ A¹ D G H, ἀρ A²) ἔφαν MSS. The omission of ἄρα in the papyrus is clearly a mistake.

δε̣ μ̣εγας. The dotted letters are very uncertain, and their putative traces would not account for all the space; but no variants are attested at this point.

325 *αψ ορροω̣ν̣*: *ἂψ ὁρόων* most MSS: *εισορο[ων* Π^{40} (without *ἂψ*).

Παριος with Π^{560} and MSS: *Πάριδος* Π^{3}.

326 *η[*. Impossible to decide between *ηχι* (Aristarchus, Π^{3} and some MSS) and *ηιχι* (Π^{4} and most MSS).

328 *εδυ̣σατο* with Π^{3} A^{m} Ω^{*}: *ἐδύσετο* Π^{560} A B^{c} W^{a}?: *ἐδήσατο* B^{1} E T: *ἐδύσσατο* Ven. Marc. 455^{2}, Vindob. phil. gr. 5, Vratisl. Rehd. 29, Paris. suppl. gr. 1095.

330 *πρωτα* with Π^{560} and most MSS: *πρῶτον* (corrected to *πρῶτα* s. l.) Π^{3}, Porph. *Quaest. Il.* 63.30 Schrader, Laur. pl. 32.47, Ambros. I 4 sup., Marc. gr. 459, Marc. gr. 456.

331 *επισφυριο̣ι̣[ς]*: *ἐπισφυρίοις* most MSS: *επισφυρί⟦η⟧οις* (*οι* added above *η*) Π^{560}: *ἐπὶ σφυρίοις* D G P.

334–5 were athetized by Zenodotus, who placed 334 after 338 (see Sch^{A} *Il.* 3.334–5 [ex Aristonico]): see G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (1925) 81–4.

336 *κ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣ιδ*: *κρατιδ'* B (post corr.) C F M P R V: *κρατὶ δ'* Eusth., *Comm. ad Il.* I 336 (I 661 van der Valk) and other MSS.

337–9 Before 338 another line, and after 339 three lines are added by Π^{40}. See S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (1967) 54–5.

339 *ως δ*: with Π^{40} and MSS: *δ'* omitted by Π^{3}.

341 *[μεσσο]ν̣* with most papyri and MSS: *μεσον* Π^{3} D H T Ambros. I 4 sup. [*m.* 1], Vindob. phil. gr. 49).

342–4 In the left-hand margin, ranging with the line-space between these lines, is a stroke sloping down gently from right to left, apparently not a *paragraphos*, since it does not extend between the line-beginnings themselves.

343 The omission of this line is difficult to explain. It is not omitted in any other manuscript, and there is no discussion of its authenticity in the scholia. Curiously, R. Payne Knight (London 1820) regarded it as unnecessary and athetized it. One could thus conjecture that an ancient scholar athetized the line, and that it was omitted for this reason. However, it seems more likely that the line was omitted by simple mistake. The marginal sign may have served to indicate that a line was missing, perhaps even that the omitted line was added in the lower margin (the sign points downwards). Thus the sign might be interpreted as a *signe de renvoi*; see B. Atsalos in D. Harlfinger, G. Prato (eds.), *Paleografia e codicologia greca* i (1991) 211–31.

345 *σε̣[ιοντ* with most MSS, or *σεῖον δ'* (Π^{3}): *σείοντες* Z (unmetrical and perhaps ruled out by space).

G. UCCIARDELLO

4815. Homer, *Iliad* V 197–208, 323–44, 347–67, 373–92, 396–412, 451–9, 835–53

48 5B.30/J(3–6)a Fr. 2b 13.7 × 15.6 cm Second/third century
Π^{999}; LDAB 9464; MP^{3} 738.201

Four fragments of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. Dr Coles notes two *kolleseis* in fr. 2, one 2 cm in from the left-hand edge, one running down the line-ends, so that the visible width of the *kollema* is 10 cm (unusually narrow). Frr. 2b and 3 preserve *c.*4 cm of the lower margin, fr. 4 at least 2.4 cm of the top one; to judge from frr. 3–4, the intercolumnium may be estimated at *c.*2.6–3.0 cm. The interlinear space averages *c.*0.3 cm. The back is blank.

The text was copied in a medium-sized, more rounded than angular 'Severe Style' hand, slightly slanting to the right. The *ductus* and the large gap between the letters give the impression of a rapid but skillfully executed writing. Bilinearity is not always respected: see in particular the vertical stroke of ι, τ, υ, ρ, φ extending under the baseline and curved to the left. α is in the triangular shape, with the oblique right-hand stroke sometimes curved; in ε the crossbar is often extended to the right; ο is small and floating upwards; υ is written in two strokes, the right one inclined leftwards; in ω the handles are often flattened on the baseline. There is a very slight contrast between thick and thin strokes (see especially η and κ). No trace of ornamentation.

Useful parallels for the dating are XXVII **2452** (Soph.? *Theseus*), LXIV **4455** (Comm. on Hdt.), both assigned to the third century, and LXIV **4459** + PL III/294A (Strabo), assigned to the second/third century. Among Homeric papyri it is interesting to compare P. Yale I 7, written, however, in a more angular hand. I should therefore be inclined to assign this papyrus to the later second or earlier third century.

There are no instances of punctuation or accents. Iota adscript is written only at 452 δηιουν (and wrongly at 412 Ἀδρηστε[ι]νηι). Nu movable is omitted at verse-end in 332 and 378 (although the next lines begin with a vowel), written in 365 but omitted in 410 (where the next lines begin with a consonant). Elision is always effected, but never signalled. There are itacistic spellings at 200, 204, 324, 341, 353, 375, 412.

For the texts used in collation see above, **4813–4816** introd. The sigla are West's, but I have preferred to quote in extenso other MSS not collated by West, on the basis of the apparatus of Ludwich or Allen.

Other published papyri that overlap with these fragments are Π^{1}, Π^{6a}, Π^{16} + Π^{578}, Π^{71}, Π^{95}, Π^{102}, Π^{180}, Π^{183} + Π^{295} + Π^{478}, Π^{280} + Π^{476}, Π^{400} + Π^{401}, Π^{404}, Π^{405}, Π^{474}, Π^{474c}, Π^{574} + Π^{576}, Π^{575}, Π^{573}, Π^{1558}.

Fr. 1

. . . . . .
π]ο̣λ̣λ̣α̣[
επετε]λ̣[λε δο]μ̣[οις
(ε)κελ]ευ̣[ε και] αρμ̣[αci]ν̣ εμβ[εβαωτα
] κ̣α̣[τ]α̣ κρατερ̣ας υcμ̣ει̣[νας
πιθομ]η̣ν η τ αν [πο]λυ κερδι̣[ον
]μη μ̣[οι δ]ευοια̣[το
ειλομενω]ν̣ ειω[θοτ]ες εδμ̣[εναι
]π̣ε̣ζ̣ος ες ειλι̣[ον
]̣[ο]υκ αρ ε̣[μελλ-

αρ]ι̣ς̣τη̣ε̣[cc]ιν εφη[κα
Ατρ]ε̣ι̣δη̣ εκ δ αμφ[οτεροιιν
].[

. . . . . .

199 From the space one can rule out μ' (ἐ)κέλευσε (W^{ac} and a few MSS).

εμβ[εβαωτα: so Aristarchus, Π^{16} and MSS; Didymus wrote ἐμμεμαῶτα (see Schol. ad loc.; the variant occurs in a few MSS).

205]. . A trace of ink at mid-height, not immediately compatible with the text given by MSS (μ' οὐκ), unless the papyrus had the *scriptio plena* μ]ε̣ [ο]υκ.

208].[. Top of upright.

Fr. 2 a + b

(*a*)

κ]α̣λλιτριχας ι̣ππους·
με]τ̣ ευκνημειδ̣ας Αχαιο̣[υς
εν]αρω̣ φιλω ο̣ν̣ π̣ερι πα̣[σης
ο]τι ο̣ι φρε̣σι̣[ν
γλαφυ]ρ̣η̣ισιν ελαυ[νεμεν
ε]λ̣α[β] ηνια σ[ιγαλοεντα
μ]ε̣[θ]ε̣πε κρατερωνυ[χας
] Κ̣υ̣π̣ρι̣ν̣ επωχετο νηλει χαλ̣[κω(ι)
] α̣ν̣αλκις εην θε̣ο̣[ς] ου̣δε θε̣αων
α]ν̣δρων πολεμον κα[τα κοιρ]ανε̣ουσι
Αθην]α̣ι̣η ουτε̣ πτολιπορθ[ος
] εκιχ̣α̣νε πολυν καθ̣ [ομιλ]ο̣ν οπα̣ζ̣ω̣[ν
εποχεξα]μ̣ε̣νος μεγαθυμο̣[υ Τυδεος υ]ι̣ος
ουτας]ε̣ χ̣ε̣ιρα μεταλμ[ενος
] δ̣ορυ χροο[ς
αμβρος]ι̣[ο]υ̣ [ο]ν̣ οι χ[αρ]ιτε[σ
πρυμ]νον̣ υ[π]ε̣ρ θεν̣α̣ρ̣ο̣ς ρ̣ε̣ε̣ δ αμβρ[οτον
οιος] π[ερ] τ̣[ε] ρ̣ε̣ε̣ι̣ μ̣α̣κα[ρ]ε̣σ̣σ̣ι . . .[
] σ̣ι̣τ̣ο̣ν̣ ε̣δους ου πεινο̣υ̣ς α̣[ι]θο[πα
α]ν̣α[ι]μ̣ονες εισι και αθαν[ατοι
ιαχ]ο̣υ̣σ̣α̣ [α]π̣ο εο καββ̣αλε[ν
] μ̣ετα χερσιν ερυσα̣[το

(2 lines lost)

(*b*) 347

Δ̣ιο]μηδη̣[ς
δηιοτητο]ς
η]περοπ[ευεις

].[.].[.].[
ετ]ερωθι πυθηαι
απε]βησετο τειρετο δ αινως
ελου]σα ποδηνεμος εξαγ ομειλ[ου
οδυνη(ι)]σι μελαινετο δε χροα κα[λον
μαχη]ς επ αριστερα θουρον Αρηα
εγχ]ος εκεκλιτο και ταχε ιππω
κ]ασιγνητοιο φιλοιο
χρ]υσαμ[π]υκας ητεεν ιππους
].....[
] κασιγνητ[ε κο]μισαι . .με δος τε μοι ιπ̣π̣[ο]υς
] Ολυμπον [ικω]μαι ιν αθανατων εδος εστιν
] αχθομαι ελκ̣[ος ο] με βροτος ουτασεν ανηρ
Τυδει]δης ος νυν [γε κ]αι αν Διι πατρι μαχοιτο
φα]το τη δ Αρη[ς] δωκε χρυσαμπυκας ιππου[ς
] διφρον εβα[ι]νεν ακηχεμενη φιλον ητορ
δ]ε οι Ιρις εβαινε και ηνια λαζετο χερσιν
μαστ]ιξεν δ ελααν τω δ ουκ ακοντε πετεσθην
αιψ]α δ επειθ ικοντο θεων εδος αιπυν Ολυμπον

325 After φιλω there is no room for an iota adscriptum.

332 κα[τα κοιρ]ανεουσι: κάτα Ptol. Ascal. p. 46 Baege, h^{126} Z: κατα- Hdn. II 52.5 Lentz, Ω: κοιρανέουσι h^{126} Z W: -ουσαι Π^{71}.

336 μεταλμ[ενος with most MSS (except Z: ἐπάλμενος).

337] δορυ with most MSS: διά P and other MSS.

338 The line was omitted in Vindob. phil. gr. 5; see West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* 191–2.

340 . . .[, scattered traces, only doubtfully compatible with θεο[ισιν (MSS).

343 καββαλε[ν with Hdn. II 27.13 Lentz, B D and few other MSS: κάμβαλεν other MSS.

344 ερυσα[το with Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.344 (II 86.17 van der Valk), A [*m.* 2], B D: ἐρυσσ- N E and other MSS.

350].[.].[.].[: first, the lower part of an upright; after a break, a rounded trace at line level, compatible with the lower part of ε or σ; then trace of descender: possibly τ[ε]σ[ο]ι[ω (τέ σ' ὀΐω MSS).

352 απε]βησετο. The papyrus agrees with Plut. *Mor.* 22E, Schol. Eur. *Or.* 277 A [*m.* 2] C D E and other MSS: -σατο Ael. Dion. α 81 Erbse, Hesych. α 3299 Latte, *Et. Or.* 4.1 Sturz, *Epim. Hom.* α 34b² and μ 26 Dyck, Phot. α 1030 Theod. and the other MSS.

356 εκεκλιτο with Porph. *Quest. Il.* 210, 2 Schr., *Et. Magn.* 421.33; 500.15 Gaisf. and other MSS: -κλετο *Et. Gen.* **AB**, C^1 P and a few other MSS.

358–9 Remains of uncertain letters between the lines: perhaps a correction or an addition.

359] κασιγνητ[ε κο]μισαι with *EM* 526, 48 Gaisf., Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.359 (II 90.21–22 van der Valk) and most MSS: -νητ' ἐκκομίσαι (or ἐκκομίσαιτέ) / ἐκκόμισαι τέ (other MSS) can be ruled out by spacing.

κο]μιcαι . . με (before με, scattered traces of ink): τε (most MSS) possible, but unverifiable: δε με Vindob. phil. gr. 39 (but δε cannot be read): τί με Paris. gr. 2697.

The line is omitted in Ambros. F 101 sup.

362 Δι (MSS): θεῷ Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.362 (II 92.4 van der Valk)

363 τη δ Αρη[c]: δ' ἄρ' Ἄρηc Π^{400} and most MSS: ἄρ omitted also in A^2 D P T and other MSS.

364 ακηχεμενη with A B C D E F G Z and other MSS: ἀκαχημένη T R O W and other MSS.

The line is omitted in Π^{1558}.

366 ελαων: with Z Ω: ἵππους D and few others.

ακοντε: so Π^{16} Π^{400} Gell. II 6.11, Macrob. Sat. VI 7.14, *Epim. Hom.* τ 55 Dyck, A D F G T W Z: ἀέκοντε B C E P R and other MSS.

πετεcθην: so Π^{16} Z Ω: επεcθην Π^{400}: ἐπετέcθην H.

The line is omitted in Π^{1558}.

Fr. 3 col. i

. . . . . .

] Ουρ[ανιω]νωνι

ρεζουca]ν ενωπ[-

375 φιλο(μ)]μειδηc [Α]φ[ρο]δ[ε]ιτη

Δ]ιομηδηc

υπεξεφερ]ον πολεμοιο

φι]λτατος εcτι

].[].[

380 μαχοντ]αι

.]

κηδομεν]η περ

εχο]ντεc

αλληλοι]cι τιθε[ντε]c

385 κρατ]εροc τ Επια[λ]της

κρατερ]ω ενι δε[cμ]ω

τρικκ]αιδεκα [μη]νας

] πολεμ[οιο

Ηριβ]οια

390 Α]ρηα [

ε]δ[αμνα

].[

(3 lines lost)

396 αιγιο]χοι[ο

οδυν]ηcιν εδωκεν
μα]κρον Ολυμπον
πεπαρμε]νος αυταρ [ο]ιcτος
]δ[ϵ] θυμον
φαρ]μακα παccω[ν
καταθνητο]c γϵτϵτυκτο
αιcυ]λα ρϵζων
]. . ϵχου[cι(ν)
γλαυκω]πις Αθη[νη
Τυδ]ϵος υιος
μ]αχηται
παππαζο]υcι[(ν)
δηι]οτητος
-]ος ϵcτι
μ]αχητα[ι
] Αδρηcτϵ[ι]νηι

374 ενωπ[-: ἐνωπῆι h[126] Apoll. Soph. 62. 29 Bekker, Ω: -πή Z: ἐνωπί F O and other MSS.

378 φι]λτατος with MSS other than Ven. Marc. 459 (-τόν ἐcτιν) and Ambr. I 58 sup. (φέρτϵρος ἐ-).

Above ϵcτι there is a speck of ink, probably accident. The line is omitted in Π[474c].

379].[].[, two spots of ink level with the line-top: αἰνή MSS unverifiable.

385 Επια[λ]της with w[23] w[39] Cl. Alex. *Prop.* II 25 (I 21.23 Stählin), Macrob. *Sat.* V 13.18 (p. 294.21 Willis, who quotes, however, *Od.* 11.308): Ἐφιάλτης Heracl. *Hom. All.* 32 and MSS.

392].[. Perhaps a speck of ink high in the line.

402 γϵτϵτυκτο. Γ does not explain all the ink (overwritten on original Λ?), but there is no clear sign of an elision-mark. Most MSS articulate γ' ἐτέτυκτο (Z Ω and Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.402 [II 108.16 van der Valk]): γϵ τέτ- O.

404]. ., specks only.

406 Τυδ]ϵος υιος: so Π[16] and MSS: και] κα[τα θυμον Π[474] and Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.406 [II 109.13 van der Valk].

407 μ]αχητα[ι: with Π[1] Ω *EM* 266.25 Gaisf., Eustath. *Comm. ad Il.* 5.407 [II 109.14 van der Valk]: -εται other MSS: -οιτο A[2] B C E G W and others.

410 ϵcτι or perhaps ϵcci· (R. A. Coles): if the latter, a mistake by the scribe, cf. *Il.* 9.53.

Fr. 3 col. ii

. . . .
]. .[
δηιουν [
ασπιδ[α]c ϵ[υκυκλουc
δη τοτϵ θο[υρον
Αρϵc Αρϵc [

[ο]υκ̣ αν δ̣[η
Τυδειδη̣ν̣ [
Κυπ̣ρ̣ι̣δα̣ μ̣[εν
αυταρ ε̣π̣[ειτ

451]. .[, scattered traces of ink.
452 δηιουν: δή̣(ι)ουν Π[400] Z D B C G[1] H Vindob. phil. gr. 39: δήϊον h[139 δ109] and some MSS.
457 The line is omitted in Π[400].

Fr. 4

835 ωc φαμ̣[ενη
χειρι π̣[αλιν
η δ ec δ̣[ιφρον
εμμ̣[εμαυια
βριθοcυ̣ν̣η[(ι)
840 λαζετο δε̣ μ̣α̣[cτιγα
αυτικ επ Α̣ρη[ι
ητοι ο με̣ν Π̣ε̣ρ̣[ιφαντα
Αιτωλων οχ α̣[ριcτον
τον μεν Αρη̣[c
845 δυν Αιδοc κυ[νεην
ωc δειδε βροτο[λοιγοc
ητοι ο μεν Π̣ε̣ρ̣[ιφαντα
κειcθαι ο̣τ̣ι πρ[ωτον
αυταρ ο βη ρ ιθ̣υ̣[c
850 ο̣ι̣ δ οτε δη ς̣χ[εδον
π̣ροcθεν [
ε̣χ̣[χει] χα[λκειω
[και το] γε χ̣[ειρι
. . .

838–9 were athetized by Aristarchus.
840 λαζετο with Z Ω: -υτο Π[408].
δε̣ with most MSS: γάρ H.
841 After this line 846 was copied in A[1] M[1] C[2] D[2] F[2] G and other MSS.
846 δειδε without diacritics, unless something is lost in a small patch of damage above ι, as in Π[965]: δεΐδεν Π[280], δεΐδεν Π[1040]: δὲ ἴδε(ν) Ω, δ' εἶδε or δὲ εἶδε some MSS.
848 κειcθαι ο̣τ̣ι πρ[ωτον: κεῖcθαι ὅθι πρῶτον most MSS: κεῖcθ' ὅθι μιν πρῶτον or κεῖcθ' ὅθι πρῶτον μιν a few MSS. Although τ̣ is damaged, it seems clear that the scribe wrote οτι and not οθι.
853 το] γε with Π[1] Π[280pc] Π[408pc] Ω: τοτε (τό τε) Π[280ac] Π[408ac] T R O H and many other MSS.

G. UCCIARDELLO

4816. Homer, *Iliad* XII 1–13, 33–40

103/3(b) fr. a 12.3 × 15 cm Fifth/sixth century
H^{1223}; LDAB 9628; MP^3 892.001

The lower half of a sheet is partially preserved in two fragments making up the left and right sides. No *kollesis* is visible. The sheet carried writing on both sides: *Iliad* 12.1–13 written across the fibers (↓) and 33–40 along the fibers (→). If the verses were written down in their natural sequence, the ↓ side was used first. If the → side continued with 12.14, it would have contained about twenty-eight lines of writing (with 33 repeated as 36a), to give a written area of approximately 19/20 × 30 cm. The left margin on the → side was at least 2.2 cm, the right 2 cm, and at the foot 3.5 cm. There are minimal traces of two more lines above 12.1 on the ↓ side, but it cannot be ascertained whether they belong to the end of Book 11 or e.g. to a title preceding Book 12.

Two hands are represented, both amateurish and therefore difficult to date but probably to be assigned (as Dr Coles suggests) to the fifth or even sixth century. The second (37–40) is a shaky script which looks back to the 'Severe' style with slightly forward leaning letters and slight serifs on τ and the descenders of υ and ρ (pointing to the right). It shows similarities to *GBEBP* 11a (assigned to the later fourth century) and to the personal script of Dioscorus of Aphrodito (datable *c.*550–70 AD). The first writer (1–13, 33–36a) exhibits great irregularity in his execution. He had troubles with ink flow at places (e.g. 10, 11). The large, round letters vary greatly in size from one to the next. And although he wrote in capitals, the writer was disinclined to lift the pen at the end of each letter. The general appearance is coarse, though almost exuberant in its disorder. This impression is further exaggerated by the mangled state of the papyrus. Parts of it are so torn that two adjacent letters of the text may be several centimetres apart physically.

It is unclear whether this was a single opisthographic sheet or part of a codex. The reconstructed dimensions of the written area imply a page very approximately 25 × 35 cm. This would be large for a codex of this period, but not impossibly large; see Turner, *Typology* 14–15. However, the large, ungainly script of the first writer suggests a single papyrus sheet used by a student. In favour of this hypothesis one may point to the numerous phonetic spellings, haplography (κ in 36a), and repeated verse (36a); cf. R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 91–3. On the other hand, the large size of the sheet and the use of the ↓ side first seem to point away from a school exercise. *Iliad* XII is not well represented in the papyri, and indeed J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 217, found it not represented at all at Oxyrhynchus, a conclusion now made obsolete by **4816** and another dozen *inedita*; for its use in schools see the wooden tablet with 12.294–7 found at Kellis and published by C. A. Hope and K. A. Worp, *Mnemosyne*

51 (1998) 206–10. Perhaps fatigue had led to deterioration in the writing of the first scribe before he was replaced by the second.

Phonetic spellings abound in both writers: itacism, confusion of ο and ω, τε for δε (36), simplification (33, 36a) and gemination of consonants (37), all of which are readily paralleled in other Homer papyri of this time. Movable nu was added in 34 οπιcθε]ν Ποcιδαων with no regard to the metre (cf. Π[572] (LII **3662**) 6, *Iliad* V); likewise οφρα loses the liquid to become ο̣φα (10). The extra line 36a was bracketed by the second scribe, to judge from the ink (cf. Turner, *GMAW*[2] p. 16, on περιγράφειν). No lectional signs except inorganic diaeresis in 4, 33, 38. Elision was effected but not marked. No opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written.

Two possible new variants at 11 and 36a (see notes below).

↓ . . . . . .

]. [

]. [

ωc] ο̣ [

ια]τ̣[

Αρ]γ̣ε[ιοι και Τρωε]c̣ ομειδ[αδον c.5]. . [

τα]φ̣ροc̣ ετι cχη̣cει̣ν Δανα̣[ων και τειχο]c ϋπε̣[ρ]θ̣ε̣ν̣

5 ευρ]υ̣ το̣ ποιηcαντο νεων [υπερ αμφι δε τ]α̣φρ̣ον

ηλα]cα̣ν ουδε θεοιcι δοcαν̣ κ̣[λειταc εκα]τομβαc

ο̣φρ̣α̣ cφιν νηαc τε θοαc και λ[ηιδα πολλη]ν

εντοc ε̣χων ρυοιτ[ο] θεων [δ αεκητι τετυ]κ̣το

α̣θανατων τω και ου τι πολ̣[υν χρονον εμ]πεδον ηεν

10 ο̣φα μεν Εκτωρ ζοωc εην [και μηνι Αχι]λ̣λευc

κ̣αι Πριαμοιο ανακτοc απο[ρθητοc πολιc] ε̣πλετ

] τ̣ο̣φρα δε και μεγα τε[ιχοc Αχαιων εμ]π̣εδον ηεν

αυταρ επει κατα̣ [μεν Τρωων θανον οccοι α]ριcτοι

→ . . . . . .

κ̣[α]ρ ροον η̣[c.10 κ]α̣λλιροον ϋδωρ

ο̣c̣ αρ εμ̣[ελλον οπιcθε]ν Ποcιδαων και Απο̣λλ[ων

35 θηcεμεν̣[αι τοτε δ αμ]φ̣ι μαχη ενοπη τε δ[ε]δ̣[ηει

τειχοc ευ̣[δμητον κ]α̣ναχιζε τε δουρατα πυργο(ν)

36a ⟦αρροον[c.8]ε̣ι̣μ̣εν κα̣λλιροον υδωρ⟧

(*m.* 2) βαλλομεν [Αργειοι δε Διοc] μαcτιγγει δαμεντεc

νηυcιν επ̣[ι γλαφυρηcιν εε]λ̣μ̣ενοι ϊcχανοωντο

Εκτορα δι[διοτεc κρατερον μηcτ]ωρα φ̣οβοιο

40 αυταρ ο γ ω̣[c c.20]. . . . .

3 ομειδ[αδον, mistake for ομειλ-. Some extra ink may suggest an attempt to correct the false δ.

]..[. Two large loops side by side, open at the right; possibly ε]μ̣ε̣[λλε.

10 ο̣φα for οφρα; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 107 f., for the disappearance of rho after a stop.

11 ε̣πλετ agrees with ἔπλετ' Vat. Palat. 180, written by Joannes Scutariota in the 15th cent. Other variants include εσθαι Π^{60}: ἔπλευ D G. The vulgate reading ἔπλε(ν) (Π^{96}) was explained by Zenodotus as apocope of ἔπλετο, by Aristarchus as syncope of ἔπελεν (sch. T; cf. Hainsworth ad loc.). The papyrus reading ε̣πλετ probably resulted from the writer beginning the next line (τοφρα) prematurely; cf. Π^{16} (II **223**, *Iliad* V, early iii AD) 199 f. εμβεβαω̂τα ⟦α⟧ | [αρ]χένειν, 255 f. ά[υτως] ⟦α̣ντ[⟧ | [αντιον. It is to be noted, however, that the scribe here did not cancel the τ.

12 This line was apparently indented by 3 letter(s). Eisthesis often signalled a change of metre (*GMAW*^{2} p. 8), but its purpose here is unclear (cf. Cribiore, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 2), unless indeed the scribe was simply avoiding a patch of surface damage.

36 πυργο(ν). Horizontal ink close above ο suggests that the final ν was represented as often by a suprascript bar.

36a The writer repeated 33 by mistake: his eyes must have wandered from τειχος 36 to τειχος 32; cf. Π^{04} (MP^3 643, LDAB 1380, i AD) for a similar error in copying *Iliad* 2.498–500. The line was subsequently bracketed by the second hand. The repetition of 33 was not exact: the initial κ was left out for some reason.

]ε̣ι̣μ̣: first a rounded hump, perhaps the cap of ε; after that an upright going directly into the left foot of a μ, prima facie]ε̣ι̣μ̣εν. This part of 33 is in lacuna. The remains do not suit the preferred reading πρόσθεν ἴεν, nor any of the variants, e.g. ἴει (ι̣ι̣ Π^{60}), ἴκεν, ἦεν, θέεν. I cannot think of a restoration for]ε̣ι̣μ̣εν that satisfies both syntax and metre (12.32 f. ποταμοὺς δ' ἔτρεψε νέεσθαι | κὰρ ῥόον, ἦι περ πρόσθεν ἴεν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ). Perhaps the writer botched his efforts at writing προσθ]εν ιεν.

40]..... Indeterminate traces, the last of which is a small hump, perhaps the peak of a λ in αελλη.

J. YUAN

4817. Homer, *Iliad* I 1 and Summary

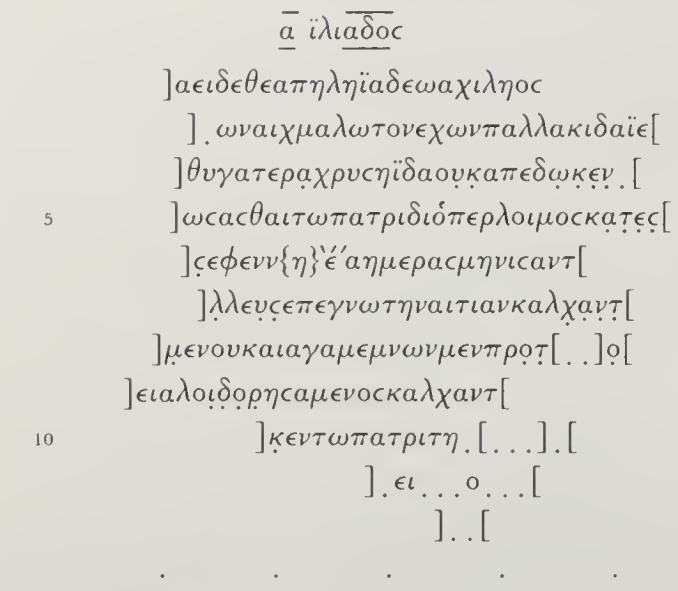
17 2B.53/B(a) 14.1 × 10.1 cm Fourth century
Plate III

Initial-title with book-number and first verse of *Iliad* I, followed by a summary describing the opening scene of the epic (vv. 22 ff.), written along the fibres in a large slanting semi-formal version of the Formal Mixed style with heavy shading and some affinities to the Biblical uncial. The overall effect is not unlike that of the Freer Gospels (*GBEBP* 15a, assigned to iv/v), but with more connection between and unevenness in size of the letters; *GBEBP* 11a (XXVII **2459**, Euripides, *Oedipus*) and 11b (P. Vindob. G 19815, Hesiod) show similar handwriting as early as the second half of the fourth century. On the back and across the fibres are beginnings of two lines containing an address, perhaps beginning a private letter, before breaking-off with ample space below, in the manner of a writing exercise (the writing has an illiterate look—a private style, at best): 1 κυρίῳ μου Ἀθανασίῳ .[, 2 πρὸ μὲ πάτω εὔχομέ̣ ς̣ε .[(l. μὲν πάντων εὔχομαι). On the front, the top margin is preserved to an apparently original height of 2.2 cm. Into this space the heading

α ϊλιαδοc appears to have been written and equipped with decorative strokes in the same hand as the main text but in a paler ink. Diaereses, both initial and internal/organic are written. Iota adscript, wherever we can tell (5, 9, 10), is omitted. There are occasionally spaces between words; sometimes letters at beginnings of words are enlarged. Top of c in 2 extended to take up space at end of line. A mark of rough breathing has been added in 5 διόπερ in the same paler ink in which the diaereses have been added, together with a suprascript letter (conceivably by the main hand) and a cancellation-stroke in 6, in correction of a phonetic error consistent with the date of writing.

The text as far as it goes is virtually (but not identically) that of (i) P. Achmim 2 (3rd/4th c. papyrus codex) with summary—consisting of exactly 100 words—of *A* 22–36, the sentence περιέχει δὲ ἡ ῥαψῳδία ἡμέρας κα, and a glossary to *A* 1–21, re-edited without the glossary by M. van Rossum, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden 1998) no. 29 (discussion: pp. 55–6; text of summary: p. 246); and of (ii) LVI **3829** (late 2nd-c. papyrus 'roll') = no. 30 van Rossum (discussion: pp. 56–7; text: p. 247), prefaced by a 'catechism' (i.e. list of characters) and *antehomerica* (i.e. a plot summary from Zeus' plan to destroy the heroic generation to the Judgement of Paris), before a summary of *A* 22 ff. (largely restored on the basis of P. Achmim 2). This last section overlaps (at 39–44) with **4817** up to the middle of line 5. **4817** has different colometry (longer lines than both **3829** and P. Achmim 2), and lacks the prefatory material contained in **3829**. A propos of P. Achmim 2, Dr van Rossum notes, first, that chronological order is not observed: Agamemnon is said to give Chryseis back and to sacrifice to Zeus (= *A* 430–87, line 10 below), and then to take Briseis away from Achilles (= *A* 320–48, line 11 below with note); and second, that the text contains additional miscellaneous material introductory to a study of the epic. (See further van Rossum 56 for other syntactical traits.) The only other hypothesis of *Iliad* I is in the medieval MSS and is completely different, in addition to being longer than P. Achmim 2 by about fifteen words. **3829** is written on re-used papyrus (the account on the back suggests that this 'roll' would not have been long), just as **4817** was re-used for the letter/exercise: both were more ephemeral than P. Achmim 2.

The existence now of three, virtually identical copies of this text, proves that this summary of the opening of the *Iliad* was a book (or in modern parlance, a 'text-book'), i.e. one with a paradosis that circulated in multiple copies like canonical texts. Nor is **4817** written in a hand particularly associated with 'school-texts' (e.g. by R. Cribiore), but with book-hands.



3]., top of upright 4 .[, diagonal sloping to right at top 10 .[, two diagonals meeting in apex at top, ϻ suggested].[, top of diagonal 11 see note below 12]..[, top of upright followed by high horizontal connected to upright from below, then continuing, as of ʜ

'*Iliad* 1. "Sing, goddess, of the wrath of Pelcus' son Achilles": Agamemnon, having the daughter of Chryses, Apollo's(?) priest, Chryseis, as a captive concubine, did not give her back to her father, although he asked to ransom her. Therefore, because the god was angered, a disease gripped the Greeks for nine days, until Achilles discerned the cause after Calchas performed divination. Agamemnon, at first, castigated Calchas for his divinatory skill, and then gave Chryseis back to her father . . .'

1 *α΄ Ἰλιάδος*: title and book number, positioned slightly off-centre to the left. Presumably with the genitive case 'Book 1 of the *Iliad*' is meant (as some colophons of books of Homer in papyri and MSS), although it is not impossible that *ὑπόθεσις* is understood: 'Summary of *Iliad* 1'. What follows is neither the first book of the *Iliad*, nor a summary of it, but a quotation of *A* 1, followed by a summary of the opening scene of the poem, starting at v. 22. At LVI **3829** 38 the quotation of *A* 1 is introduced by a now fragmentary sentence beginning *κα*[. P. Achmim 2 has only the book-number *α* as a solitary heading (off-centre to the far right) before the quotation of *A* 1 in a separate line.

2–10 Beginnings and ends restored from P. Achmim 2.3–12 and (in part) from **3829** 40–44.

2 Quotation of *A* 1. For quotation of the opening verse or incipit of a work or book compare the quotation of *ζ* 1 in P. Ryl. I 23.9–10 and the titles and incipits of Menander's plays in X **1235** (iii 103, 113)—though these latter are more elaborately introduced by addition of the formulae: title + *ἧς ἀρχή* and *ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις*; J. J. O'Hara, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 1 n. 2. Both P. Achmim 2.2 and **3829** 39 have the same quotation of *A* 1 in a single line (longer in the latter instance by a whole word than the restored line-lengths of the paraphrase).

μῆνιν]: restored with P. Achmim 2.2: *μ*[.]*ῆνι*[*ν* **3829** 39. *μῆνιν* will not quite fill the space required at the beginning of line 2, but the discrepancy is slight, especially given the flourish with which 1 (a title) and e.g. *θεα* in the present line are written. Since what follows is not an explanation or a gloss, perhaps this line too was written as a kind of title or subheading to what follows.

3 *ἰε*[*ρέως Ἀπόλλωνος* (?): restored with P. Achmim 2.4; restored (on grounds of space) at **3829**

α′ Ἰλιάδος

μῆνιν] ἄειδε θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.
Ἀγαμέμ]νων αἰχμάλωτον ἔχων παλλακίδα ἱε[ρέως Ἀπόλλωνος (?)
Χρύσου] θυγατέρα Χρυσηΐδα οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν δ[εομέ-
νῳ λυτρ]ώσασθαι τῷ πατρί· διόπερ λοιμὸς κατέ̣ς̣[χε(ν) τοὺς
Ἕλληνα]ς ἐφ' ἐννη{η}έα ἡμέρας μηνίσαντ[ος τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἕως Ἀχι]λλεὺς ἐπέγνω τὴν αἰτίαν Κάλχαντ[ος μαν-
τευσα]μένου. καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν πρότ[ερ]ο[ν ἐπὶ τῇ
μαντ]είᾳ λοιδορησάμενος Κάλχαντ[ι, τὴν μὲν
Χρυσηΐδα ἀπέδω]κεν τῷ πατρὶ τη.[...].[
].ει...ο...[
]..[
. . . . . .

41. But a tracing shows that the name so restored here would have thus been longer than the preceding and following lines by at least five letters. It is highly likely that *Ἀπόλλωνος* did not stand here in **4817**, and that the text ran on from *ἱερέως* to *Χρύσου* without specifying which god he served as priest (omission by haplography?).

4 *ἀπέδωκεν*: with P. Achmim 2.5: *ἀπ[έδωκεν* **3829** 43. The ω looks somewhat like ο missing its top; but ο elsewhere has a narrower base, and the ω here is apparently a normal development of an ω that the scribe uses elsewhere (7 *επεγνω*) alongside the full ω.

4–5 *δ[εομέ|νῳ λυτρ]ώσασθαι τῷ πατρί*: confirms the word-order of P. Achmim 2 and **3829** here, together with this summary's stylistic habit of separating cased and other words that normally belong together (remarkable, as van Rossum, *Greek Readers' Digests* 56, notes, for a Homeric hypothesis). Cf. 10–11 below = P. Achmim 2.12–13 *τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἀφείλατο Βρισηΐδα.*

5 *διόπερ*. The evidence of **3829** ends at this point.

κατέ̣ς̣[χε(ν) τούς: restored with P. Achmim 2.6–7 *κα|τέσχεν τούς.*

6 *Ἕλληνα]ς*: restored with P. Achmim 2.7. The surviving trace does not exclude such conceivable alternatives as *τὸν λαὸ]ν*, *(τὸν) στρατὸ]ν*, or *(τοὺς) Ἀχαιού]ς*.

εφεννηα: **4817** before correction: *εφεννεα* after correction: *ἐπ' ἐννέα* P. Achmim 2.7; cf. *A* 53 *ἐννῆμαρ*; 54 *τῇ δεκάτῃ*; 493 *δυωδεκάτη γένετ' ἠώς*. An ε of similar shape as elsewhere has been written over *η*, and *η* has been cancelled with a fine diagonal stroke in a lighter ink. The phonetic exchange of *η* for *ε* is well exampled in this period in documentary texts; *ἐννηα* for *ἐννέα* is also not uncommon (Gignac i 245 for some examples). If *ἐφ'* is what was intended, it may be another case of false aspiration (Gignac i 135ff.) (unless the scribe was influenced by thinking of *ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐννέα*). The mediaevally transmitted scholia on *A* 53 give various explanations for the number of days (e.g. medical, Pythagorean), but the papyrus shows no trace of interest in these. The specification of the day in the summary may instead be related to the debate between Zenodotus and Aristarchus about the number of days passed in the course of *Iliad* I: cf. P. Achmim 2.20 *περιέχει δὲ ἡ ῥαψῳδία ἡμέρας κα*, on which see note there, and van Rossum, *Greek Readers' Digests* 55 n. 9.

μηνίσαντ[ος: restored with P. Achmim 2.7–8.

τοῦ θεοῦ (restored by reasons of spacing): *τοῦ* $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ P. Achmim 2.8. Such possible variants as *Ἀπόλλωνος* or *δαίμονος* here would produce a line longer than the preceding and following one by three letters.

7 *ἐπέγνω τὴν αἰτίαν*: not exactly true of Achilles: this is nowhere stated in the poem.

10 *ἀπέδω]κεν*: *ἀπέδωκε* P. Achmim 2.12.

τῷ πατρί: *τῶ̓ πατρί* P. Achmim 2.12. **4817** confirms the addition. P. Achmim continues *τὴν δὲ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ· | τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἀφείλατο Βρισηΐδα. καὶ Ἀχιλλε[ὺς] | μὲν τῆς μητρὸς ἐδεήθη Θέτιδος ὅπως αὐτῷ | βοηθήσῃ· κτλ.*

11]. ει . . . ο . . . [: *ἀφείλατο Βρισηΐδα* P. Achmim 2.13, to which these traces seem suitable, i.e. *ἀ]φείλ̣α̣το Β̣ρ̣[ι]ς̣[ηΐδα* (see above on 4–5 for the separation of words normally belonging together).

D. OBBINK

4818–4819. Scholia Minora to *Iliad*

Presented below are two papyri, overlapping in parts, with scholia minora to the first book of the *Iliad*. Other papyri covering the lines commented on in **4818–4819** are P. Stras. inv. Gr. 33 (R 011, S/W h15), P. Colon. inv. 2281 (R 016, S/W h23), P. Berol. 10577 (R 017, S/W h24), P. Mil. Vogl. III 120 (R 020, S/W h28) (all four reedited by A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 119–48, 229–52, 252–5, 255–7), and P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8 (R 013, S/W h19). All these papyri have been assigned to the second century. The interrelation of the scholia minora attested in all these papyri including ours is perhaps indicative of the circulation of a standard edition of them in Roman Egypt.

The notes also give the comparative testimony of the D-Scholia, scholia maiora, grammarians, paraphrases and several lexica. Although this list is not complete, it is indicative of the influence of the scholia minora upon later works of similar nature.

The following abbreviations and sigla have been used:

Ap	*Apions Γλῶσσαι Ὁμηρικαί*, ed. S. Neitzel, New York/Berlin, 1977.
PsAp	'Über die homerischen Glossen Apions' i–ii, *Philologus* 74 (1917) 205–47; 75 (1918) 95–127 (= *Lexica graeca minora* (Hildesheim 1965) 283–358).
ApS	*Apollonii sophistae Lexicon Homericum*, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1833.
D	*Scholia D in Iliadem* (Proekdosis), ed. H. van Thiel at http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/vanthiel/scholiaD.pdf
EGen	*Etymologicum magnum genuinum; Symeonis Etymologicum una cum magna grammatica; Etymologicum magnum auctum*, i–ii (*α–βώτορες*), edd. F. Lasserre–N. Livadaras, Rome 1976 / Rome 1992; *Etymologicum genuinum littera A*, ed. A. Colonna, Rome 1967.
EGud	*Etymologicum Gudianum quod vocatur* (*ἀάλιον–ζειαί*), ed. A. De Stefani, Lipsiae 1909–20; *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum*, ed. F. Sturz, Lipsiae 1818.
EM	*Etymologicum magnum*, ed. Th. Gaisford, Oxonii 1848; *Etymologicum magnum genuinum; Symeonis Etymologicum una cum magna grammatica; Etymologicum magnum auctum*, i–ii (*α–βώτορες*), edd. F. Lasserre–N. Livadaras, Rome 1976 / Rome 1992.

EpH i–ii *Epimerismi Homerici*, pars prior: *Epimerismos continens qui ad Iliadis librum A pertinent*; pars altera: *Epimerismos continens qui ordine alphabetico traditi sunt*, ed. A. R. Dyck, Berlin/New York 1983–95.

Eu *Eustathii archiepiscopi thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani editi*, ed. M. van der Valk, Lugduni Batavorum 1971–87; . . . *ad Homeri Odysseam* . . . , ed. J. G. Stallbaum, i–ii, Lipsiae 1825–6.

Hsch *Hesychii alexandrini Lexicon*, rec. K. Latte, i–ii (α–ο), Hauniae 1953–66; iii (π–σ), rec. P. A. Hansen, Berlin 2005; ed. M. Schmidt, vols. i–v, Ienae 1858–68.

Λ *Scholia minora in Homeri Iliadem*, ed. V. de Marco, pars prior: *Λέξεις Ὁμηρικαί codd. Urb. CLVII et Selestadiensis CVII* [*sic*] (α–ε), fasc. i, Rome 1946; *Λέξεις* not beginning with α–ε are cited after A. Henrichs, 'Scholia Minora zu Homer I', *ZPE* 7 (1971) 97–149, and 'Scholia Minora zu Homer II', *ZPE* 7 (1971) 229–60.

Or *Orionis thebani Etymologicon*, ed. F. G. Sturz, Lipsiae 1820.

P *Παράφρασις τῆς Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδος*, in *Scholiorum in Homeri Iliadem appendix*, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1827.

PM 'Le parafrasi al primo libro dell'Iliade di Manuel Moschopulos', ed. S. Grandolini, in *Studi in onore di A. Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 131–49.

Philox *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Philoxenos*, ed. C. Theodoridis, Berlin/New York 1976.

Ph *Photii patriarchae Lexicon*, ed. C. Theodoridis, i–ii (α–μ), Berlin/New York 1982–1998; *Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου Λέξεων συναγωγή*, ed. R. Porson, i–ii, Cambridge 1822.

R L. M. Raffaelli, 'Repertorio dei papiri contenenti Scholia Minora in Homerum', in *Ricerche di filologia classica*, 2 (Pisa 1984) 139–74.

Σ *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων* (versio antiqua), ed. I. C. Cunningham, Berlin/New York 2003.

Σ^{b} (α) *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν* (versio codicis B), ed. Cunningham. op. cit. 527–701.

Sch^{AbT} *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia vetera)*, ed. H. Erbse, i–vii, Berlin 1969–88.

Su *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, i–v, Lipsiae 1928–38.

S *Homer and the Papyri*, ed. D. Sutton et al., at http://www.chs.harvard.edu/publications.sec/homer_and_the_papyri.ssp

W M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (München/Leipzig 2001) 86–138.

PsZo *Ioannis Zonarae Lexicon*, ed. I. A. H. Tittmann, i–ii, Lipsiae 1808.

[ ] Square brackets enclosing the reference to a parallel indicate that the lemma with its gloss is the same but in a different order from that of the text of the papyrus entry.

\+ The plus sign indicates that the parallel in question provides more material than cited.

4818. Scholia Minora to *Iliad* I 326–36, 340–53

46 5B.53/G(1–5)b 7.4 × 11.5 cm Third century

A fragment of a roll preserving along the fibres parts of a glossary to *Iliad* I. The back carries remains of a land register in a third-century hand. The missing text between the two sets of lemmata–glosses cannot be determined. There are 14 entries between *Iliad* 1.335 and 340 in the D-scholia, but our papyrus certainly had fewer lemmata. It has 19 entries between 1.340 and 353 and 10 between 1.326 and 335, while the D-scholia have 38 and 26 respectively. These calculations indicate that the D-scholia have almost twice as many entries as our papyrus, so that one may assume that about 7 entries were lost in the gap between the glosses of the first and the lemmata of the second column. This reconstruction would suggest a column-height of *c.*13 cm, which is rather short; see W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 119–25.

The hand is an informal version of the 'Severe Style', medium-sized, slanting to the right, and with some shading. The standard bookhand suggests that it was a book copied by a professional scribe. Bilinearity is violated by ρ, φ, and sometimes by ι, τ, υ, and χ. Letters are narrowly spaced and often touch each other. Noteworthy letters are the cone-shaped θ, the diamond-shaped φ, ξ whose middle part resembles a comma, κ with detached branches, and the well-rounded ω, whose middle stroke is reduced to a point. Such a hand may confidently be assigned to the third century; cf. VII **1016** = *GMAW*^{2} 84 or I **23**.

Lemmata and glosses are arranged opposite each other in parallel columns by order of their occurrence in the Homeric text, and are separated by a blank space (at least 1.2 cm wide). The lemmata in the second column are almost strictly vertically aligned, but the writing of three glosses in the third column violates the alignment. The lengthy gloss to πολιης (ii 13) occupies two lines, the second of which is set out, so that its correspondence to the same lemma could be made clear; see Raffaelli in *Ricerche di filologia classica* ii 174, and J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: La Bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Le Caire 1999) 99. iii 17 is set one letter in, possibly so that confusion with the long tail of the initial τ of the previous line could be avoided; iii 18 is aligned with iii 17. In iii 19 the initial letter of the gloss is written slightly further right than usual, perhaps because of the length of its lemma. On the assumption that the beginnings of the glosses in the first column ranged approximately, 4–6 letters must have been lost from them.

A number of dots are written after certain lemmata and glosses (it is unclear whether they are the work of the scribe); see i 10, ii 9 (high points), 18 (low point), 20 (middle point). All these lemmata appear to be incorrect; do the points signal error? However, no point is visible after the lemma in ii 8, which is also incorrect.

Errors, usually misspellings, in the lemmata of papyri of scholia minora are not uncommon; cf. J. Lundon, *ZPE* 124 (1999) 25–52 (noticed parenthetically).

No other lectional signs are in evidence. Iota adscript was not marked in ii 4.

The papyrus is rich in lemmata. αὖτε (340), ἑτάρων (349), and, if correctly identified, cόοι (344), cτήτην (332), and ἠρήcατο (351) are not included in the glossaries transmitted by other papyri that cover the same lines (cf. also i 18 n.). The large number of lemmata brings this papyrus close to the D-Scholia, and is evidence for the influence of the scholia minora upon the formation of this corpus.

col. i		col. ii	col. iii	
]		αὐτε	[	(340)
].		χρειω	[	(341)
]..		αεικεα	[	(342)
]		ολοιηcι	[	(342)
].		θυει	[	(342)
].		προccω	[	(343)
]			.[	
]		.]οοιc	.[	(344)
]		.]ταρωθ[.]ν·	φιλ[	(349)
].πε·	(1.326)	α]φαρ	ταχ[εωc	(349)
].θηcαν	(327)	νοcφιν	χωρ[ιc	(349)
]ου	(327)	λε[ι]acθειc	ε[	(349)
].		πολιηc	λευ[κηc	(350)
]θεντεc	(331)		απο των ...[	
].αν	(332)	οινοπα	μελανοὶ	(350)
]τῶν	(332)	ποντον	την θαλα[ccαν	(350)
] εαυτου	(333)	ηρηcατο	ηυξα[το	(351)
].ειον		ορεγνουc·	εκτεἰν[	(351)
]cερχεcθαι	(335)	μινυνθαδ[ιο]ν	ὀλιγοχ[ρονιον	(352)
].ειν	(336)	οφελλεται·	[.]φειλ.[	(353)
]..[		ε̣χ[γυα]λ[ι]ξαι	[ε]νχειρ[ιcαι	(353)
			].[	

i 2]., blob of ink 3]..., foot of oblique descending rightwards followed by what seems to be ο (cf. ολοιηcι) 5]., speck of ink 6]., short horizontal trace 10]., upright 11]., possibly the right branch of υ 13]., η or ν 15]., speck 18]., right-hand branches of κ or χ 20]., lower part of upright 21]..[, two letter tops, the second perhaps of c, ε, θ

iii 7 .[, foot of upright curving upwards, compatible with ϵ 8 .[, curves meeting at bottom left forming an acute angle suggesting c 14 ...., scattered high and low traces that would suit ⲁ followed by the foot of two long letters, compatible with ϕ and ρ respectively 20 λ., back of a curved letter, perhaps ϵ 22].[, oblique descending rightwards, suiting ⲁ, ⲗ, ⲇ

Apart from those listed in the introduction, a few other papyri with scholia minora are quoted as parallels to particular entries: XLV **3237** (R 015, S/W h22; III c.); P. Cairo Masp. III 67331 = P. Aphrod. Lit. 2 (R 027, S/W h38; VI c.); PSI inv. 1733 (R 044, S/W h67; ed. *SIFC* 27–8 (1956) 50–52; VII c.); P. Hamb. III 200 (R Od.004, S/W Od.h9; II c.); P. Amh. II 18 (R Od.007, S/W Od.h25; II c.); Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f 41 (P) (ed. *ZPE* 136 (2001) 111–15; V c.); P. Bingen 8 (II c.).

Col. i

10].πϵ. Presumably προεπϵ]μπϵ, glossing προίει (1.326). If the dot after -ϵ indicates an error, the gloss may have been intended to be προέπεμψϵ, as in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.9a; see **4819** →6.

11].θησαν. Probably ϵπορϵ]υθησαν, glossing βάτην (1.327), as in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.3a, D+ on 1.327, P, [Hsch β76+]: ἐπορ⟨ϵυ⟩έσθην Λ β20U: ἐπορεύοντο Λ β23SU: ἀπῆλθον PM.

12]ου. One would expect a gloss to ἀτρυγέτοιο (1.327), e.g. ἀκάρπου, as in **3237** ii 26, D on 1.316+, Λ α796U+, P, [Sch^{AbT} (ex.) on 15.27+], Hsch (Cyr) α8165+, [Hsch (Cyr) α8167+], EM α2053+, EGud 230.12+, [Eu III 696.23+]. ἀκαταπονήτου attested in D on 1.316+, Λ α796U+, ApS 46.16f+, [Hsch (Cyr) α8167+], EM α2053+, EGud 230.12+, [Eu I 170.2–+]: ἀπείρου Λ α796U+, EGud 230.12+ (in both κατὰ τὸ βάθοϲ is added), Hsch (Cyr) α8165+: ἀβύϲϲου [Sch^{AbT} (ex.) on 15.27+], [Eu III 696.23, 697.2–3] seems too long for the space available. For other possibilities, not compatible with the traces, see P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.4 (ϰαθαραϲ ϰαι περαϲ μη ϵχουϲηϲ), P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.5.i.24 (τηϲ μη τρυγωμϵνηϲ) and perhaps 6.2 (]θαρμ[), [P. Berol. 10509.5–6 (την πολ⟨λ⟩ην)], PM , Sch^{AbT} (ex.) on 15.27+, ApS 46.16ff.+, EM α2053+, [Eu I 170.2–3+], [Eu III 696.23, 697.2–3], also glossed at EGen α1365). A gloss to θῖν' (with or without ἁλός, 1.327), cf. θιν] ϵφ' αλοϲ = αἰγιαλόν in P. Colon. 2281.i.14, though it seems less likely, cannot be excluded. αἰγιαλός is the expected gloss for θίϲ in the scholia and lexica. To judge from the estimated length of the gloss, a gloss to παρὰ θῖν' (ἁλός), as e.g. πληϲίον (or ἐγγύϲ) τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ with PM, is excluded, as well as a gloss to a long lemma including both παρὰ θῖν' (ἁλός) and ἀτρυγέτοιο.

13].. The trace is too meagre to allow an identification of the lemma. To judge from other papyri, one would expect a gloss to ϰλιϲίαϲ (1.328) or ϰλιϲίηι (1.329) (cf. P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.5.i.17, P. Strasb. inv. 33.iii.20, P. Hamb. 200.i.8, Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f 41(P) →10); γήθηϲϵν (1.330) (cf. P. Strasb. inv. 33.vi.20, P. Amh. 18.vii.92 and PSI inv.1733v.4); or τὼ μέν (1.331) (cf. P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.7a).

14]θϵντϵϲ. A gloss to either (i) ταρβήϲαντϵ or (ii) αἰδομένω, both in 1.331. The former alternative is the likeliest, given that it is glossed in one other papyrus. Thus we could have had (i) φοβη]θέντϵϲ with P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.5, D on 1.331, P, [EM 746.32–3]: φοβηθέντϵϲ, ϵὐλαβηθέντϵϲ [Hsch (Cyr) τ172]: δϵίϲαντϵϲ PM. Cf. also D on 2.268, D on 4.388, D on 5.286+, D on 13.285, [Σ (Cyr) τ33], Ph 569.14, Su τ117, PsZo τ1715; or (ii) αἰδϵϲ]θέντϵϲ with D on 1.331, PM, EGen α175: ϵὐλαβούμενοι P: [αἰϲχυνομένων D on 5.531]. Cf. ApS 15.3–7 s.v. αἰδεῖϲθαι.

15].αν. Probably a gloss to ϲτήτην, i.e., ἔϲτη]ϲαν (1.332), as in D on 1.332 and 3.344, P, Hsch σ1840: ἔϲτηϲαν τῆϲ ὁρμῆϲ PM. Cf. also D on 1.6, Sch^{bT} (ex.) on 1.6, Hsch (Cyr) δ1342, EM 270.53+, s.v. διαϲτήτην.

16]τῳν. More likely ἀνηρώ]τῳν than ἠρώ]τῳν (in terms of space), a gloss to ἐρέοντο (1.332); see **4819** →2.

17] ϵαυτου. Probably a gloss to ἧϲιν (1.333); see **4819** →3. The papyrus could have had ταῖϲ] ἑαυτοῦ or ἰδίαιϲ] ἑαυτοῦ.

18].ϵιον. Gloss and lemma uncertain.

19]ϲϵρχϵϲθαι. Most probably a gloss to ἄϲϲον ἴτ' (1.335). ἐγγὺϲ ἔρχϵϲθϵ P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.8

(l. -αι), Hsch α7800: εγχ[υc ? P. Colon. 2281.i.3: *ἐγγὺς παραγίνεσθε* D on 1.335, cf. A α764 *ἄσσον ἴθι = ἐγγὺς παραγίνου: ἐγγὺς ἔλθετε* P: *πλησίον ἔλθετε* PM. On *ἄσσον* and *ἴτε*, see **4819** →4 and 5 respectively. Thus, the parallels suggest *ἐγγὺ]ς ἔρχεσθαι* (l. *ἔρχεσθε*).

20]. ειν. Probably *ὑ]μεῖν* (l. *ὑμῖν*), glossing *σφῶιν* (1.336). The majority reading, preferred by editors, is *σφῶι*; *σφῶιν* is transmitted by some papyri (p377, p379 p771), Apollonius Dyscolus and the manuscript A (*super lineam*), and was favoured by Zenodotus. We prefer to take *σφῶιν* as the lemma since it is glossed as *ὑμῖν* in D on 4.341 and 16.556, Sch^{T} (ex.) on 17.451, Sch^{A} (Ariston.) on 23.408+, Sch^{A} (Ariston.) on 23.411, Hsch σ2945+, Eu I 748.28. On the other hand, *σφῶι* is glossed as *ὑμεῖς οἱ δύο ἢ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δύο* in ApS 147.14: *ὑμᾶς*, D on 1.336 and 15.146, Sch^{T} (ex.) on 1.336, Hsch ο1472, P, PM.

If we assume that the glosses were vertically aligned, 4–6 letters must have been lost in the break. If this gloss was aligned with the others, 2–4 letters will have been lost before *ὑ]μεῖν*. Perhaps the lemma was *ὃ σφῶιν*, glossed as *ὃς ὑ]μεῖν*; *ὅ* is glossed as *ὅς* in D on 1.336, ApS 118.1–2, Hsch ο1 and ο1472, P, PM.

Cols. ii–iii

1 (1.340) *αυτε. αὖτε* is glossed in D on 1.340, 1.206, 1.237, 1.404, 1.578, 2.105, 2.107, 3.121, 3.203, 3.225, 3.241, 4.10, 4.132, 5.224, A α824U, Σ^{b} (α) = Σ (Cyr) α1102, EpH ii τ7, Hsch (Cyr) α8376, Σ^{b} 165.8, Ph α3201, Su α4467, EGen α1417, EGud 235.17 and 533.10–12, PsZo α349.

2 (1.341) *χρειω. χρειώ*. See **4819** →9.

3 (1.341) *αεικεα. ἀεικέα*. See **4819** →10.

4 (1.342) *ολοιηςι. ὀλοιῇσι* is glossed in P. Colon. 2281.i.8, P. Berol. 10577.6, D on 1.342 (*ὀλοιῇσιν*), Hsch (Cyr) ο603, [EM 622.25], [Eu I 178.31], [PsZo ο1443], [PsZo ο1444]. All papyri have *ολοιηςι*, whereas most medieval manuscripts omit *ι* (*ὀλοῇσι*), to the detriment of the metre.

5 (1.342) *θυει. θύει* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.10b, P. Colon. 2281.i.9, D on 1.342, [21.234=21.324], [Sch^{T} (ex.) on 15.500], [ApS 88.25], Hsch θ826, [Or 73.17, 73.20, 74.20], [Ph θ244], [Su θ596], [EGen α147, θ266], [EM α391, 185.39, 391.24, 457.19, 457.29, 457.56, 458.55, 459.16–17, 459.23, 459.27, 823.43], [EGud 266.36–7, 266.55, 267.7, 267.13, 574.26, 581.15], [Eu I 178.30, I 264.21–2, in Od. I 58.28], [PsZo α61, ε905, θ1060, θ1061, θ1064, ι1135].

The papyrus has *θύει* with all the papyri and medieval codices attesting *Il.* 1.342, and not *θυίει*, given by the best codices in *Il.* 11.188, 16.699, 21.234, 21.324, 22.272 and 23.230; see *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* s.v., and West, *Homeri Ilias* i p. xxxi (praef. iii 10).

6–7 (1.343) *προccω* [ ]. [: *πρόccω*]. Since there is no lemma below *πρόccω*, but a trace from the initial letter at the column of glosses in 7, the gloss to *πρόccω* could be a long one as in 13–14, perhaps including a gloss to *ὀπίccω* (1.343), which occurs in scholia minora to this line, even if it does not appear in the lemma. *πρόccω* is glossed as: *ἔμπροcθε(ν)* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.11b, D on 13.291, Hsch (Cyr) ε5297, Hsch τ168, Σ^{b} 352.13, Ph 463.26, Su π2770, EM 691.3, EGud 481.53, Eu III 472.20, PsZo π1583, PsZo π1589: *εἰc τὸ ἔμπροcθεν* P. Colon. 2281.i.10, D on 12.274 (*εἰc τοὔμπροcθεν*): *ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμπροcθεν* D on 11.571: *τὰ μέλλοντα* A (S127^{r}, U211^{v}), PM: *ἔμπροcθεν, πρὸ τούτου* Hsch π3945: *πόρρω, ἔμπροcθεν, μακρὰν εἰc τοὔμπροcθεν* Hsch π3885: *ἀπωτέρω* Su π2771. *πρόccω καὶ ὀπίccω* together are glossed as *τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον, τουτέcτιν οὐκ οἶδεν προcκοπῆcαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπόβαcιν τοῦ πράγματοc* D on 1.343: *εἰc τὸ παρὸν καὶ εἰc τὸ μέλλον* D on 3.109: *εἰc τὸ παρωχηκὸc καὶ τὸ μέλλον* D on 18.250: *καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕcτερον, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρωc ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροcθεν cτοχάcαcθαι τὰ ὕcτερα* Sch^{A} (Nic.) on 1.343: *. . . μὴ τὰ παρόντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα cκοπεῖν* Sch^{T} (ex.) on 1.343: *ἐν τῷ ἔμπροcθεν, ὅ ἐcτι μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ. ἢ τὰ ἐνεcτῶτα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα* Hsch π3948: *τὰ παρελθόντα . . . καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα* Eu I 179.7; cf. also Eu I 613.12–16, I 613.26, I 626.27–8, IV 172.10–13, Eu in Od. II 330.25. *ὀπίccω* alone is glossed as *μετὰ ταῦτα* in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.12b, P. Berol. 10577.8 and A (S112^{r}, U198^{v}).

8 (1.344 ?)]ooιc [. The lemma was probably *cόοιc* (l. *cόοι*), glossed as *cῷοι, ὑγιεῖc* in 1.344

and 5.531: *cecωcμένοι* P: *ἀζήμιοι* PM: *cωτήριοι* ApS 143.31: [*ἐμφανῆ καὶ cῶον καὶ ὁλόκληρον* ApS 143.28]: *cωτήριοι, ὑγιεῖc, ὁλόκληροι, cωζόμενοι* Hsch σ1335. The first trace of the gloss is compatible with c: ϛ[*ῶοι*, ϛ[*ωτήριοι*, ϛ[*ecωcμένοι* or ϛ[*ωζόμενοι* are possible.

9 (1.349) .]*ταρωθ*[.]*ν φιλ*[. The lemma presumably read *ἑ*]*τάρωθ*[*ε*]*ν*, but this word is not attested elsewhere. If we restore the gloss as *φίλ*[*ων, ἑ*]*τάρωθ*[*ε*]*ν* will be an error for *ἑτάρων*. We find *ἑτάρων* = *φίλ*[*ων* in D+ on 1.349, [Λ ε888U+], [EpH ii ε83], Eu in Od. I 424.24 and 30–1; cf. *ἑταῖροι* = *φίλοι* ApS 78.8 (*ἑτάρων* = *ἑταίρων* P, PM).

10 (1.349) α]*φαρ ταχ*[*εωc*: *ἄφαρ* = *ταχέωc*. So P. Colon. 2281.vi.21 on 1.594, P. Berol. 10577.11–12 (see Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 254–5 nn. 11–13), D+ on 1.349=1.594=2.453, 17.392, P, PsAp 304/226.3–4+, ApS 48.18, Hsch (Cyr) α8558+, Hsch (Cyr) ω68, Or 30.1, EGen α1447+, EM α2145+: *cὺν ταχυτῆτι* PM: *ταχύ, cυναπτῶc* Eu IV 55.17–20: *ταχὺ καὶ εὐθέωc* Eu IV 351.30: *εὐθέωc* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.11, P. Colon. 2281.i.11, EpH i 349PsOs and 594Ps, EpH II α102, [Hsch α8568], EGud 239.1, Eu I 244.27, I 385.18, Eu III 503.22, Eu IV 735.21, PsZo α350, PsZo α360: *εὐθὺc καὶ ταχύ* Eu in Od. I 150.31: *εὐθέωc καὶ cυναπτῶc* Eu in Od. I 90.31–2.

11 (1.349) *νοcφιν χωρ*[*ιc*. l. *νόcφι* (*metri gratia*) = *χωρίc*. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.12a, P. Colon. 2281.i.12 (both as *νόcφι*), P. Berol. 10577.11? (see *ZPE* 7 (1971) 254–5 nn. 11–13), D on 1.349=1.541=4.9=20.7, D on [2.233+], 2.347+, 5.322+, VIII **1086** 75, Hsch (Cyr) ν674+, Hsch (Cyr) ν677, Or 109.19, Su (Lex. Ambr.) ν502, EGud 410.49+, EGud 411.54, Eu I 268.22, PsZo ν1407+: *χωρὶc ἕκαcτον* Λ (S120^{v}, U198^{v}): *ἰδίᾳ ἀπό* PM: *ἰδίωc* P. Cf. also Eu III 157.4–5 s.v. *νόcφι λιαcθείc* = *χωριcθείc*.

12 (1.349) *λε*[*ι*]*acθειc ε*[. l. *λιαcθείc* = *ἐ*[. There are several possibilities: *ἐκκλίναc* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.16a (*εκ*[*κ*]*λεινας*), D on 1.349+, 20.418 and 21.255+, ApS 66.16, Hsch (Cyr) λ930+, [Or 26.11], Su λ481, [EGen α481], [EGen λ98+], [PsZo α119], [PsZo λ1312]: *ἐκκλίνων* **1086** 75: *ἐγκλίνων, ἐκφεύγων ἢ πλανηθείc* EpH I 349Os[Ps]: [*ἐκφεύγω* Eu I 544.14]: *αποκλειναc* P. Colon. 2281.i.13, cf. Sch^{1b} (ex.) on 23.879: *ἀπελθών* PM: *χωριcθείc* P.

13–14 (1.350) *πολιηc λευ*[| *απο των* . . .[. *πολιῆc* = *λευ*[*κῆc* or *λευ*[*καινομένης* | *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφρ*[. [*τηc*] *ϛπο του αφρου λευκαινομϛνηc θαλαϛcϛc* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.13–14: *πολλῆc ἢ λευκῆc διὰ τὸν ἀφρόν* D on 1.350 and [15.190]: *τῆc ἐν τῷ ἀφρίζειν λευκαινομένηc* Λ (S125^{v}, U209^{v}): *πολιὴν τὴν θάλαccαν τὴν λευκὴν ἀπὸ τῆc τῶν κυμάτων φαντακίαc* ApS 132.34–5: *πολιῆc ἁλὸc τῆc λευκῆc διὰ τὸν ἀφρόν* EM 680.14: *πολιὴν ἅλα φηcιν . . τὴν λευκὴν διά τε τοὺc ἀφρούc* Eu in Od. I 224.6–7. For *πολιῆc* = *λευκῆc*, cf. P, PM, Sch^{bT} (ex.) on 19.267+, Hsch (Cyr) π2776, Eu I 225.17, [PsZo π1561], [PsZo π1565]. The most likely restoration in 14 is *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφρ*[*ῶν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφρ*[*ιζόντων κυμάτων* (cf. Eu II 399.23) would be too long to fit in the space.

15 (1.350) *ϙινοπα μελανϙ. οἴνοπα* = *μελανόν. οἰνοειδῆ τὴν χρόα ἔχοντα* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.15: *μέλανα* D on 1.350, 2.613, [P], PM, Eu I 225.17, III 540.21, Eu in Od. I 46.16: *μέλανα, ὡc οἶνοc τῇ χροίᾳ* D on 7.88: *μέλανα, οἰνώδη κατὰ τὴν χρόαν* ApS 119.17: *μέλανα ἢ οἰνώδη* Λ(S121^{r}, U200^{r}): *οἰνωπόν, πορφύρεον, μέλανα* Hsch o349: *μέλανα, οἰνώδη τῇ χροιᾷ* Hsch (Cyr) o327, cf. also Hsch o352, Hsch (Cyr) ε3114 s.v. *ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ*, and Eu I 180.15ff. The papyrus is unique in attesting *μελανόν*, the second-declension form of *μέλανα* (see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 130), which is the standard gloss for this lemma, but which cannot be read here.

16 (1.350) *ποντον την θαλα*[*ccαν. πόντον* = *τὴν θάλαccαν*. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.14b (without the article), D on 1.350, [4.276], P, Sch^{T} (ex.) on 11.297, [Hsch (Cyr) ε3114], [Hsch (Cyr) π2996+], [Σ (Cyr) π562+], [Ph 443.13–15+], [Su π2049+], EM 682.32, [EGud π475.43], [PsZo π1561]: [*πέλαγοc*] ApS 133.17–18 s.v. *ποντοπόροιcι*: not changed in PM.

17 (1.351) *ηρηcατο ηυξα*[*το. ἠρήcατο* = *ηὔξατο*. So D on 1.351, P, PM, Hsch (Cyr) η771+, Eu IV 702.18.

18 (1.351) *ορεγνους εκτειν*[. l. *ὀρεγνύc* = *ἐκτείναc* or *ἐκτείνων. ἐκτείναc* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.16b (*εκτινας*), D on 1.351, Σ (Cyr) o209, Ph 345.16, Su o526: *εκτεινων* P. Colon. 2281.i.15, PM, Sch^{bT} (ex.) on 22.37, Hsch (Cyr) o1131, also [ApS 122.23], [Or 114.5], [Or 116.16f.], [EM 629.42], [EM 634.52],

[PsZo 01466], [PsZo 01472]: *ἀναπετάσας* P. The papyrus attests neither Zenodotus' *ἀναπτάς* Sch^{A} nor the reading *ἀνασχών* Sch^{T}. For the common interchange of *υ* and *ου*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 215.

19 1.352 *μιννθαδ̣[ιο]ν ο̣λιγοχ[ρονιον. μιννθάδιον = ὀλιγοχρόνιον.* So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.18. P. Colon. 2281.i.16, D on 1.352, [Sch^{bT} ex. on 1.352]. P. PM. Hsch Cyr *μ1404*. Σ Cyr *μ227*, Ph *μ462*, Su *μ1100*, [EM 588.17]. [PsZo *μ1362*]: *]..ν χρονον[* probably in P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.6.13: [*ὀλίγος τῷ χρόνῳ* Eu I 181.11]. Cf. also P. Bingen 8.18–19 and the parallels cited there s.v. *μίννθα*.

20 1.353 *ο̣φελλεται .]φειλ̣[*. Presumably for *ὄφελλεν = ὤφειλεν*. So P. Colon. 2281.i.17, D on 1.353, P, PM, [ApS 125.8], [Hsch 01951] and [01955]: *ωφελεν* P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.17b: *ὄφειλεν* Sch^{A} on 1.353: *ἐχρεώστει* EpH i 353PsPsd. Also glossed in P. Cairo Masp. III 67331.1recto.10 on 2.420. It is difficult to explain the form of the lemma as a mere scribal error. *ὀφέλλεται* meaning *αὔξεται* (see Hsch 01950 and Or 0113.24) occurs only in *Od.* 3.367. Could it be that the scribe was confused by a note in his exemplar concerning this particular lemma?

21 1.353 *ε̣χ[γυα]λ[ι]ξαι ε]ν̣χειρ[ισαι: ἐγγυαλίξαι = ἐγχειρίσαι*. So P. Colon. 2281.i.18, P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.19+ *ενχιρισ̣α̣ι*, P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.6.9, D+ on 1.353, Philox fr. 224+ = EpH i 353BPsPsdOs+, Hsch *ε1511+*, Or 51.2+, EM 309.26+, EGud 393.7–8+, [Eu I 382.17], [Eu IV 388.23], [Eu in Od. I 297.25–6], [Eu in Od. II 114.25+]: *μετακεινησαι* P. Colon. 2281.v.26 on 1.581 but see *ZPE* 7 (1971) 247: *ἐγγυῆσαι* Sch^{T} (ex. on 1.353: *δοῦναι* A *ε14S*. PM: *χαρίσασθαι* P: *τὰ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τιθέμενα* ApS 89.17: *τὸ εἰς τὸ κοῖλον τῆς χειρὸς δοῦναι* EGud 392.18–19: *παρέχειν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ διδόναι* Eu IV 884.17–18: *τὸ εἰς χεῖρας παρασχεῖν* PsZo *ε606*: [*παρέξει, χαρίσεται* A *ε16SU*]: [*τὸ εἰς χεῖρα δοῦναί τι καὶ παρασχεῖν* EpH ii *ε83*]: [*παρέχω, χαρίζομαι* Hsch Cyr *ε152*]: [*ἐν χερσὶ τίθημι* Eu III 439.16–17]: [*τὸ εἰς χεῖρας διδόναι* Eu III 763.22]: [*δώσει* Eu in Od. II 299.3–4].

R. HATZILAMBROU

4819. Scholia Minora to *Iliad* i 332–41, 354–60

67 6B.11/N 3 7.9 × 9.5 cm Third/fourth century

A fragment with writing on either side, apparently from a papyrus codex, though for such a small piece one cannot rule out the possibility that this is an opisthograph single sheet. It preserves glosses to *Il.* 1.332–41 on the → side, which would have been a right-hand page, and lemmata (with traces from two glosses) of *Il.* 1.354–60 on the ↓ side, a left-hand page. Lemmata and glosses are limited to one word; their arrangement is in two parallel columns separated by blank space of several letters. The piece is broken off at all sides. The left- and right-hand side margins are 2 and 3.1 cm respectively. The interlinear space amounts to *c.*0.5 cm. The column height is unknown. A rough estimate of the width of the page would yield a figure of *c.*16–17 cm, which would suggest the classification of our piece into Group 5 or 6 of papyrus codices (Turner, *Typology* 16–18).

Remains of documentary writing practice, in a large, slow and awkward hand, are visible running downwards across the fibres in the margins and the intercolumnar space of the text of the scholia on the → side. There are two lines in the right-hand margin; in the first, one reads *Ἀὐρήλιος ..[...]ων..ς̣θε[*; in the second, one can make out *ἐπιφανε[c]τά̣των*. The latter would normally be part of a regnal or consular formula, the epithet being used for several Caesars, especially in the

tetrarchic period (last time in 325). This should provide a *terminus ante quem* for the text of the scholia minora, which could have been written in the late third or early fourth century.

The text is written in an upright, medium-sized hand. Round (ϵ, ο, ω, μ, θ, c) and angular (ϡ, ϡ, γ, κ) forms mix elegantly. Letters sometimes touch each other but without forming ligatures. Bilinearity is violated by ι, ρ, γ, ϕ. There is slight ornamentation in the form of curls on the extremities of many letters. Some shading is discernible in ϡ, ϡ, ρ, χ. β is written in two movements with squashed lower part; ϵ has a protruding middle stroke, and is made in two movements; θ is almost round; ϡ rests on a long baseline and has its right-hand diagonal projecting beyond its left-hand one; γ has wide open prongs almost forming right angle; ρ has a big head, sometimes taking the form of a triangle; ω has all its strokes curved. The hand displays affinities with *GBEBP* 2a and *GMAW*^{2} 70, both assigned with good reason to the early fourth century. A date in the late third century or the first half of the fourth would suit.

Diaeresis (organic) in ↓11 and apostrophe between the double consonants in →4 are the only lectional signs in evidence. The lemmata are arranged by order of their appearance in the Homeric text. They are usually given in normalized form (see e.g. ↓8, 11, 13), i.e., not as they appear in the text for the sake of metre, which is fairly common in scholia minora.

The glosses offered are normally (among) the expected ones, except for those in →1, 5, and 7, which are unique. Compared with the other published papyri with scholia minora on the same lines of the *Iliad*, our text appears richer in lemmata. Words such as *προσεφώνεον*, *ἧισιν*, *μακάρων*, *ἔτισεν*, *ἑλών*, *δακρυχέων*, *ἡμένη* and *ἀνέδυ* (→1, 3, 7; ↓2, 3, 5, 7, 10) are not glossed in the other papyri of scholia minora. For the remaining lemmata, which at least one other papyrus cites, the papyri generally agree, with three exceptions out of eleven (→5, where we have a new gloss; →8, where we have a gloss found in one of the two other papyrus glossaries covering this part; and →10, where the only other papyrus glossary at hand offers a different gloss). In one case (→7) the papyrus provides an explanation whose kernel occurs in the scholia maiora (bT), but which is attested more emphatically in later grammarians and lexica.

Apart from the papyri listed in the General Introduction, XXIV **2405** (R 009, S/W h13), assigned to the second/third century, contains scholia minora for parts of these lines.

→

προσεφωνεον]	πρ]ο̣σ̣ειπο̣ν	(1.332)
ερεοντο]	ηρω]των	(332)
ηισιν]	ε̣α̣[υ]τ̣ο̣υ	(333)
αεσον]	εγ'γυς	(335)

5	ιτε]	προαγετε	(335)
	προιει]	προεπεμπε	(336)
	μακαρων]	αφθαρτων	(339)
	απηνεος]	σκληρου	(340)
	χρειω]	χρεια	(341)
10	αεικεα]	χαλεπον	(341)
	λοιγον]	ολεθρον	(341)
		].[	

↓

	....].ν	[	(1.354?)
	ετ]ισεν	[	(354)
	ελων	[	(356)
	απουρας	[	(356)
5	δακρυχεων	.[	(357)
	ποτνια	[	(357)
	ημενη	[	(358)
	βενθεσι	[	(358)
	γεροντι	[	(358)
10	ανεδυ	[	(359)
	ηϋτε	[	(359)
	ομιχλη	[	(359)
	παροιθε	.[	(360)
	.[.].[.]..	[	

→ 12].[, part of a short high horizontal, in the same ink colour as the glossary

↓ 1]., tiny speck 5 .[, lower left edge of a letter, perhaps of an acute angle, suggesting Α or Δ 13 .[, high short horizontal 14 .[, tiny speck].[, high horizontal sitting on upright (Γ, Π, or Τ)]. ., upper part of tall upright, followed by remains of curve

→

1 *πρ]οσειπον*. Probably a gloss to *προσεφώνεον* (1.332). *προσεφθέγγοντο* D on 1.332, [2.22]: *προσεφώνησαν* P: *ἐφθέγγοντο* PM: *προσαγορεύει* [Hsch (Cyr) π3937] = [PsZo π1588]. This lemma is not attested in any other papyrus with scholia minora covering these lines. If the penultimate letter is read as ε, which is less likely, then *πρ]οσειπεν*, glossing *φώνησεν* (1.333) (*ἐβόησεν καὶ εἶπεν* D on 1.333: *προσεφώνησεν* P: *ἐφώνησεν* PM). *κ]αι ειπεν* glossing *φώνησέν τε*, as D on 3.181, is even less likely.

2 (1.332) *ηρω]των*. *ἐρέοντο* = *ἠρώτων*. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.3b, PM, Hsch (Cyr) ε5720, Λ ε730SU:]*των* probably for *ηρωτων* **4818** i 17: *ἀνηρώτων* D on 1.332: *ἠρώτησαν* P: *ἀνεπυνθάνοντο* Hsch ο1573. Space favours *ηρωτων* rather than the longer *ανηρωτων*.

3 (1.333) *εα[υ]τον*. *ἧισιν* = *ἑαυτοῦ*. So D on 2.588, PM: *αὐτοῦ* D on 1.333, P: *ταῖς ἑαυτῶν* Hsch (Cyr) η270: *ἰδίαις αὐτῶν* Hsch η272: *ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῷ* EGud 249.37. Also glossed in **4818** i 17 as *ταις*]

εαυτου or ιδιαις] εαυτου. The papyrus is heavily abraded at this point, so that other possibilities, though unparalleled in other sources, cannot be excluded; e.g. ἐνὶ φρεσί (1.333) = εν̣ [ε]α̣υ̣τ̣ῳ̣.

4 (1.335) εγ'γυς. ἄσσον = ἐγγύς. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.8, P. Colon. 2281.i.3, probably in **4818** i 19, D on 1.335 and 567, ApS 45.12, P, Hsch (Cyr) α7800+ and α7801, Λ α764U, Eu I 175.16–17 and II 263.14, EGen α1303+ = EM α1959, PsZo α328: πλησίον PM. Almost all the many witnesses agrees that ἄσσον (on the accent, see West, *Homeri Ilias* i p. xx), although it is in origin the comparative of ἄγχι, can in Homer mean no more than 'near', ἐγγύς (see Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* s.v.).

5 (1.335) προα̣γετ̣ε̣. ἴτ' = προάγετε. ερχεσθαι (l. ἔρχεσθε) P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.8, **4818** i 19: παραγίνεσθε D on 335: ἔλθετε P, PM, Hsch α7801: πορεύεσθε Hsch ι1085 (on Eur. *Bacch.* 83): παραγίνου [Λ α764U]: δεῦτε ἢ ἀπέλθετε Su ι737.

6 (1.336) προεπεμ̣π̣ε̣. προίει = προέπεμπε. So **4818** i 10 on 1.326 (προεπε]μπε), D on 3.118, 3.346, Su π2429: προπέμπει D on 1.336: προπέμπει+ D on 2.752: προπέμπουσι [D on 11.270]: προέπεμψε(ν) P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.9a (πρ[οε]π̣ε̣μψεν), D on 5.280, EpH i 326Os, P, EGud 272.14–15 = EM 467.42: ἔπεμψεν PM. Cf. also [Hsch π3487 and π3492]. The gloss is paralleled almost everywhere, with disagreement in some cases regarding the tense employed.

7 (1.339) αφθ̣αρτων. μακάρων = ἀφθάρτων. The lemma has not been included in the other papyri preserving scholia minora on this line, Apollonius Sophista and *Lexeis Homerikai*. Moreover, the gloss is not paralleled in identical form anywhere, but the idea contained in it is found in scholia maiora, grammarians and later etymologica. Cf. Sch^{bT} (ex.) on *Il.* 1.339–40 θεοῦ δὲ ἧττονα τὸν βασιλέα εἶναί φησι διὰ τὸ φθαρτόν: Or 102.23f. ⟨μακάριος⟩ ὁ μὴ κηρί, τουτέστι τῇ φθορᾷ ὑποκείμενος; EGud 377.52 = EM 573.47–8 μάκαρες, οἱ μὴ πεπτωκότες ὑπὸ κῆρα (= φθοράν, see EGud 377.44–5 and EM 573.35f.); EGud 388.10–11 μάκαρες οἱ μὴ κῆρα ἔχοντες, οἱ ἀθάνατοι; Eu I 178.20–2 (also on *Od.* I 99.26–8) μακάρων δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἤτοι ἀθανάτων, ὡς μὴ ὑποπιπτόντων κηρὶ τουτέστι θανατηφόρῳ μοίρᾳ.

8 (1.340) σκληρου. ἀπηνέος = σκληροῦ. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.10α, D on 1.340+, [15.94+], Hsch α6161, [(Cyr) α6160], [(Cyr) α6166+], Λ α627U, [Su (Lex. Ambros.) α3170], [EGen α1007] = [EM 121.51–6], Eu I 176.20–1+, [PsZo α233]: ἀπηνοῦς P. Berol. 10577.3 (α[πηνους]), P, PM: χαλεπός [D on 16.35]: ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐχ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ προσηνές [Ph α2415].

9 (1.341) χρεια. χρειώ = χρεία. So P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.9b, P. Colon. 2281.i.6, P. Berol. 10577.3–4, D on 1.341 and 10.142, [ApS 169.9], EpH i 341PsOs, P, PM, Hsch χ1562.86, Λ (S 133^{r}, U 224^{r}), Su (Lex. Ambros.) χ468, EM 814.34–9. The gloss has not survived in **4818** ii 2.

10 (1.341) χαλεπον. ἀεικέα = χαλεπόν. So D on 1.341+ = 4.396+ = 1.456+, 1.398+, 11.142, [19.124+], [21.20+], 24.733], [Λ α99SU], cf. ἀεικῶς· ἀπρεπῶς, χαλεπῶς [Hsch (Cyr) α1284]: αναρμοστος [P. Colon. 2281.i.7]: τὸ μὲν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπεοικότα λέγειν (τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἀπεχθῆ) Sch^{A} (Did.) on *Il.* 1.97–9: τὸν ὑβριστικόν Sch^{bT} (ex.) on Il. 1.341: στόνος δὲ ἀεικὴς ὁ δεινὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς στεναγμός Sch^{b} (ex.) on *Il.* 21.20–1: ἀπρεπές [D on 9.70]: τὸν εὐτελῆ καὶ οἰκτρόν D on 12.434: ἀπεοικὸς καὶ ἀπρεπές [D on 14.13]: κακόν [D on 15.496]: εὐτελῆ [D on 24.594]: ἀπρεπῆ P, PM: τὸ δεινὸν (T 124) καὶ τὸ εὐτελές [PsAp 291/213.3)]: ἀπρεπῆ, ἀθεράπευτα [Hsch (Cyr) α1271]: ἀπρεπές [Hsch (Cyr) α1275]: κακόν, σκληρόν, ἀπρεπές, εὐκαταφρόνητον Hsch [α1276]: ὁ σκληρός, ὁ μὴ εἴκων [EpH II α67PO]=[EGen α99]=[EM 21.47–53]: αἰσχρός [EGud 28.13]: τὸ ἀνόμοιον, τὸ ἀπρεπές [Su (Lex. Ambros.) α621]: ἀπρεπής, σκληρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἴκειν [PsZo α50]. Also glossed in **4818** ii 3, but there the gloss is lost. The varicty of glosses attested for this particular adjective are due to its occurrence in many different Homeric lines. Our papyrus agrees with many other sources but not with the Cologne papyrus, which also cites this lemma.

11 (1.341) ολεθρον. λοιγόν = ὄλεθρον. So P. Berol. 10577.5, XXIV **2405** i 24, D on 1.67, 1.341, 1.398+, 1.456, 5.662, 8.130, (cf. also 2.873, where λοιγόν glosses ὄλεθρον), Sch^{A} (Did.) on *Il.* 1.97–9 (see 10 n. above), PM, [ApS 12.14], Σ (Cyr) 135+ = Ph λ386+ = Su (Lex. Ambr.) λ751+, [Hsch (Cyr) λ1232]+, EGen λ135 = EGud 372.62 = EM 568.19–39, Eu I 80.19 and 220.26, PsZo λ1315: θάνατον Hsch α6461, P.

12]. [. If the trace belongs to a gloss, this would be a long one, perhaps consisting of more than one word, although there is nothing similar in the rest of the text. Nine to ten letters may have been lost in the gap before the trace. This could have been a gloss to *ἀμῦναι* (341) as *ἀποσοβῆσαι* P: *ἀποσοβῆσαι, ἀποστρέψαι* D on 341; or to *θυίει* (342), for which we have *ενθουσια ορμα* in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.10b: *ωρμα μαινε]ται* P. Colon. 2281.i.9: *ἐνθουσιωδῶς ὁρμᾷ ὅ ἐστι μαίνεται* D on 1.342.

↓

1 ....]. *ν*. (1.354?). *τυτθ]όν* would be acceptable. Glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.17a, P. Colon. 2281.i.19, D on 1.354, 5.443, 6.222, 10.345, 15.628, ApS 156.7, Hsch *τ*1481, Λ (S130^{v}, 219^{r}), [Σ (Cyr) *τ*304] [Su (Lex. Ambr.) *τ*1207], EM 772.12–15, Eu I 181.23, [PsZo *τ*1754].

2 (1.354) *ετ]ιϲεν. ἔτισεν*. Space excludes *ητιμ]ησεν* (1.356), which is closer to the next lemma. Glossed in D on 1.354 and 412, Hsch (Cyr) *ε*6610, Su *ε*3323, EpH i 356APsPsdOs.

3 (1.356) *ελων. ἑλών*. Glossed in D on 1.139, 1.303, 1.356, 1.507, 3.72, 8.13, 24.696, Hsch *ε*2246, Λ *ε*268SU, [Σ (Cyr) *ε*279, *ε*307, *ε*309], EGen *α*1077, EM 132.43.

4 (1.356) *απουρας. ἀπούρας* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.21a, P. Colon. 2281.i.20, XLV **3238** fr.1 iii 109, D on 1.356, 1.507, ApS 39.3–5, EpH i 356BPsPsdOs, Hsch *α*6759, Λ *α*640U, EGen *α*1077, EGud 177.1–7, EM *α*1688, PsZo *α*270.

5 (1.357) *δακρυχεων. δακρυχέων* (for its writing as one word, see Sch^{bT} (Hrd) on *Il.* 1.357) is glossed in D on 1.357 as *δακρύων, κλαίων*, and in Λ *δ*19U as *δακρύων*. The remaining trace from the initial letter of the gloss is compatible with *δ*, so that *δ[ακρύων* would be possible.

6 (1.357) *ποτνια. πότνια* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.22a, P. Mil. Vogl. 120.27, Sch^{AbT} (D, ex.) on *Il.* 1.357, D on 1.357, 1.551, 4.2, Ap Fr 110, ApS 134.9, [Hsch (Cyr) *π*3151], Σ (Cyr) *π*580, Su *π*2138, EGud 477.56, EM 685.50–8, PsZo *π*1566.

7 (1.358) *ημενη. ἡμένη* is glossed in D on 1.358, Hsch *η*453.

8 (1.358) *βενθεϲι. βένθεϲι* is glossed in [P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.21b], P. Colon. 2281.ii.2, P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.5.ii.4, D on 1.358 (*ἐν βένθεϲϲιν*), [ApS 51.7], Hsch (Cyr) *β*515 [Hsch *β*516], (Cyr) *ε*2716 and *ε*3083, Λ *β*28SU, [EGen *β*95] = [EM *β*117].

9 (1.358) *γεροντι. γέροντι* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.22b, Sch^{AbT} on *Il.* 1.358, D on 1.358 (*πατρὶ γέροντι*).

10 (1.359) *ανεδυ. ἀνέδυ* is glossed in D on 1.359.

11 (1.359) *ηῦτε. ἠύτε* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.24a, P. Colon. 2281.ii.3, D on 2.87, 2.480, 3.3, 3.10, ApS 85.10, Hsch *η*979 and (Cyr) *η*980, Λ (S 114^{r}, U182^{v}), EGud 251.47, EM 440.1–18, Eu I 182.21.

12 (1.359) *ομιχλη. ὀμίχλη* is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.24b, D on 1.359, 3.10, ApS 120.24, Hsch (Cyr) *η*980 and *ο*733, Λ (S 121^{v}, U201^{r}), Ph *ο*332, Σ (Cyr) *ο*141, Su *ο*258, EM 624.9–18, PsZo *ο*1447.

13 (1.360) *παροιθε. πάροιθε* (elided in the Homeric text) is glossed in P. Strasb. inv. 33.ix.25a as *εμπροσθε*: P. Lit. Palau Rib. 8.5.ii.5 (the gloss has not survived): P. Colon. 2281.ii.4 as *προπαροιθε* = *ε[μπροσθ]εν*]: D on 1.360, 1.500, 4.185, ApS 127.33–4, Ph *π*398 as *ἔμπροσθεν*: D on 3.162 as *τὸ ἑξῆς ἐστὶν παρελθοῦσα* (ZYQ) *ἐν πρόσω, δεῦρο* (ZQ): Hsch (Cyr) *π*961 as *ἔξωθεν, ἔμπροσθεν*: Hsch *τ*1147 (*τὸ πάροιθεν*) as *τὸ πρὸ τούτου*: PsZo *π*1526 as *πρότερον ἢ ἔμπροσθεν, . . . σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ πρῶτος*. The remaining trace of the gloss in the papyrus would allow but cannot confirm *ε[μπροσθεν*.

14 .[.].[.]... Though too damaged to be confirmed, the lemma may be *αυτοιο* (1.360), glossed in D on 1.360, 1.500, Hsch (Cyr) *α*8418, and Λ *α*831U.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4820. Commentary on *Odyssey* III 1–4

33 4B.82/G(18–20)a 6.9 × 15.4 cm Second century
Plate VII

A fragment of a roll with parts of 25 lines from the upper part of a column, which could be the beginning of the roll; upper and left-hand margins are extant to 2 cm and 1 cm respectively. The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank. If the supplement proposed in 13–14 is correct (see n.), a line could have accommodated about 40 letters, which means that about one third of each line is lost. The column-height is unknown.

The text is written in a cursive hand of the second century. Its general impression is like XXXI **2536** = *GMAW*^{2} 61 (datable to the second century), in particular the second and third hands, or Seider I 34 (138) and 35 (147). τ has its horizontal straight but also broken (17). The initial letters of each line are slightly enlarged.

Long lemmata (set in ekthesis) are separated from the following commentary by a space of about one letter and probably by a high dot placed before the commentary (see e.g. 16). This practice was perhaps in evidence throughout the commentary. Lemmata start a new line (1, 6, 16) and are set one letter to the left of the rest of the text. *Paragraphi* mark the end of a note (5, 15). As far as it can be reconstructed, the commentary proceeds systematically through the first four lines of *Odyssey* 3 with the possible exception of 12–15 (see 12 ff. n.). Space of one letter (8, 13, 14, 15, 23?) probably indicates punctuation. Corrections (9), cancellations (4?) and supralinear additions (7) were made by the same hand. Abbreviations of common type (by suspension) are used consistently, mainly in the quotations of the Homeric verses and in some common words, e.g. ὠκεανόν (2), οὐρανόν (13, 14), λέγει (9).

This hypomnema is conventional in type but fuller and more detailed than the existing scholia on the *Odyssey*, to which it does not correspond closely. There is some slight similarity in the comment on λίμνη, but apart from this, which is in an entry shared in scholia and lexica, there is little overlap with extant scholia. Other extant papyri with scholia on the *Odyssey* (with the exception of the abridged scholia preserved in the second-century papyrus edited by V. Bartoletti, *ASNP* 35 (1966) 1–4 = M–P^3 1210.4) show the same lack of correlation.

The text is highly scholarly: Aristarchean (2, 12) and Cratetean (3) beliefs are reflected, exegetical details are provided (7–11), further Homeric passages are adduced (7–8, 13–15), Greek poets (Sappho) are quoted (3). However, its extent does not make it possible to know for certain whether it was as elaborate and comprehensive as e.g. II **221** on *Il.* 21 (M–P^3 1205), VIII **1086** on *Il.* 2 (M–P^3 1173), or **1087** on *Il.* 7 (M–P^3 1186).

For other commentaries on the *Odyssey* see LIII **3710** introd. (p. 91; the pa-

pyrus cited there as P. Yale inv. 551 is now P. Yale II 128); add LXV **4453** (= M–P^3 1207.21), which appears more 'in the nature of a treatise', and **4821**. See also F. Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse* (2005) 130–6.

We are indebted to Professor Pontani for comments and criticism on an earlier draft.

ηελιοcδ[.]νορουcελι.ω̣ν..ρι.[
ωκὲάουμονο.λιμνηνλεγ.[
αλλοιδεωνκαιcαπφω.ο̣ν̣ωκ[
ταυ..α..αλληλοιc.ν̣[.].[
ωcπροcτηνημετεραν.α[
ιν̣αθαν̀άφαεινοικαιθν̀.´.[.]..[
ρ̣ο̣ιcγινεταὶκαί̀νυξκαιημε̣[
α...ηυδον̣ επιτ.ν̣c.[
πρ̣ο̣.̀άλ̣εγ̀.´επανκρυψη[
ουτωcοιαρχαιοιαυτ[
μηδεπαρατοιcθεοι̣.[
/ εχουcικαιτονυπεργη .[
καιχαλκεον̣ο̣υρ διο.[
ουρ ικενκατατοιcχ̣[
καιχρυcουνλε.ει οιδε.[
.]ιδεπυλοννηλ̀ήὲύ́πτὸλ́ ̇.[
.].ηπυλ̣ο̣cετεροcμ.[
c.4]..[c.2].[
c.5] ̇[
c.3]...[c.3]..[c.2]..[
c.2]..ουνη̣λ̣ε̣ωcκ[
.].ο̣ιοιcεπιμ[
c.4].υ̣εν η[
c.5].η̣π̣[..?]ν.[
c.5]..[c.2]...?[
. . . .

1 ι.. slightly curved upright ..ρ. upright, top of letter ligatured to ρ ι., top of letter 2 ο.. letter-foot γ.[. trace of ink from top of letter, attached to the top of Γ 3 ω., high horizontal 4 υ.., possibly ⲁ written above two letters, perhaps λ and ι α.., foot of long letter, followed by ascending oblique c.. letter-top .[. letter-foot 5 ν.. middle part of ϕ or ψ 6 ̀.´.[. high oblique trace; upright followed by medial speck]..[. two high traces, perhaps of the same letter: horizontal joining upright whose foot curves gently leftwards, compatible with τ 8 α.., descender curving leftwards at the foot: the high horizontal above it probably stands for a supralinear ⲁ .η. foot of long descender curving leftwards τ.. curved side of a letter, admitting ο, ω, and with difficulty η c.. low speck 9 ο̣.. tall curved left-hand side of a letter suggesting ϐ 11 ι̣.. part of high horizontal 12 η.. speck 13 ο.. remains of curved letter, probably c 15 ε.. upright and traces of horizontal ε.[. small ascending oblique ligatured to ϵ 16 .[. speck 17].. high trace μ.[. low trace 18–20 The writing has almost completely vanished along with the horizontal fibres that carried it. 18]..[. high arc followed

ἠ̣έλιος δ' [ἀ]νόρουσε λιπ̣ὼ̣ν π̣ε̣ρικ̣[αλλέα λίμνην τὸν (*Od.* 3.1)
ὠκεα(νὸν) οὐ μόνον̣ λίμνην λέγε̣[ι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμὸν
ἄλλοι δὲ ὧν καὶ Ϲαπφὼ τ̣ὸν ὠκ[εανὸν
ταυ̣ . . α̣ . . ἀλλήλοις . ν̣[.] . [
ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φ̣α[

ἵν̣' ἀθανά(τοισι) φαείνοι καὶ θνη̣(τοῖσι) β̣[ρ]ο̣τ̣[οῖσιν (*Od.* 3.2–3)
ρ̣ο̣ις γίνεται ̀καὶ̀ νὺξ καὶ ἡ̣μέ̣[ρα
α . . ( ) . η̣ὖδον̣. ἐπι τ . ν̣ ϲ . [
πρ̣ο̣β̣α( ) λ̣εγ . ( ) ἐπὰν κρύψη[
οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αυτ[
μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖ̣ς̣[
/ ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς̣[
καὶ χάλκεον ο̣ὐρα(νόν). διος̣[
οὐρα(νὸν) ἷκεν. κατὰ τὸ ἰϲχ̣[
καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγ̣ει. οἱ δὲ . [

ο]ἱ δὲ Πύλον Νηλῆ(ος) ἐϋ(κτίμενον) πτολ(ίεθρον) ˙ . [(*Od.* 3.4)
.] . η̣ Πύλος ἕτερος μ . [
*c.*4] . . [*c.*2] . [
*c.*5] ˙ [
*c.*3] . . . [*c.*3] . . [*c.*2] . . [
*c.*2] . τ̣ου Νη̣λ̣έ̣ως κ[
.] . . ο̣ι οις επιμ[
*c.*4] . υ̣εν η̣[
*c.*5] . η̣π̣[. . ?]ν . [
*c.*5] . . [*c.*2] . . . ?[
. . . .

by indeterminate trace] . [, trace from the bottom of a letter 19] ˙ [, speck high in the line, perhaps belonging to supralineation 20] . . . [, low tiny specks, lower junction of oblique with upright, and short horizontal connected on the right to a blob of ink, probably remains of three letters] . . [*c.*2] . . [, unassignable traces 21] . . , speck followed by τ or Γ 23 . υ̣, top of tall stroke, suggestive of φ or ψ 24 . η̣, indeterminate trace ν . , low left angle compatible with ⲇ, ⲝ, ⲍ 25] . . [*c.*2] . . . ?[, traces of tops of four or five letters, the last (or the one before the last, if the traces after the gap belong to three letters) with a long horizontal

1 *Od.* 3.1 is the only passage in Homer where ὠκεανός is called λίμνη. Λίμνη is used for the sea in *Il.* 13.21, 13.32, 24.79, [*Od.* 5.337], and should refer to the sea or the ocean in Hes. *Th.* 365; see M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony* (1966) 268–9. Cf. sch on *Od.* 3.3 λίμνην ὁ ποιητὴς πᾶν ὕδωρ φησί, νῦν δὲ τὸν ὠκεανόν; sch D on *Od.* 3.3 λίμνην νῦν τὸν ὠκεανόν; PsAp 324/246.1–2 ἡ θάλασσα (ε 337), ὁ ὠκεανὸς (γ 1) καὶ τὸ σύνηθες. Cf. also sch A on *Il.* 21.246b, ApS 108.28–30, Hsch λ1039, Su λ551, EM 566.12ff.,

Eu on *Od.* I 108.11–15 (on 3.1) and on *Il.* III 632.10–12. With *Od.* 3.1 one may compare Aesch. fr. 192, where a lake is described as being near the Ocean (παρ' ὠκεανῷ), in which the Sun washes himself and his horses at the end of the day; see A. Lesky, *Hermes* 87 (1959) 31.

2 λέγε̣[ι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμόν. For the ocean called ποταμός, cf. *Il.* 14.246, 18.607, 20.7, *Od.* 11.158, 11.169, 11.639, 12.1, Hes. *Th.* 242, 959, *Cypria PEG* F 9.10. The belief that the ocean was a river was advanced by Aristarchus (cf. sch. A on *Il.* 20.7, A Ge 21.195, *Od.* 12.1) who took the Homeric passages literally; see M. Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers* (1976) 111–14.

λέγει does not seem to have been abbreviated here (cf. below, 9 n.).

3 ἄλλοι δὲ ὧν καὶ Σαπφὼ τ̣ὸν ὠκ[εανόν. There is no reference to the ocean in the surviving fragments of Sappho, so that it is not easy to reconstruct what Sappho and others called the ocean, but this presumably differed from λίμνη and ποταμός. It is tempting to think that reference is made to a different interpretation of the ocean from that of Aristarchus, namely that of the Crateteans, who, under the influence of contemporary geographers and Stoics, considered the ocean as a sea (θάλασσα); cf. sch Ge on *Il.* 21.195, and see Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers* 115–17. Perhaps Crates himself or one of his circle quoted Sappho in support of this view. Thus in line 3 one may supply θάλασσαν λέγουσι or καλοῦσι or φασί. The extant scholia to the Homeric poems quote Sappho only rarely; cf. also sch A on *Il.* 3.219, A on 14.241, T on 20.234.

4 ταυ̣ ̣ α̣ ̣ ἀλλήλοις ̣ν̣[̣] ̣[. This could be part of an explanation given for the name for the ocean mentioned in 3 as sea. ταυ seems to be followed by λ corrected to ⅄, and then by ι, which may have been crossed out. Two letters seem to have been lost in the gap, to the right of which a long oblique emerges, which may express another deletion (perhaps of a second ⅄; another possibility is that the long oblique after the gap is a sign of abbreviation: Professor Parsons suggests the common symbol for ἐστί(ν)). If a reading like τὰ ὕδ̣[[λ̣ι̣]]ατ̣' ἀλλήλοις ἐ̣ν̣ [α]ὐ̣[τῷ συμπίπτοντα λέγοντες is acceptable, perhaps we have a comment on the belief that all rivers and springs flow ultimately from the ocean; cf. *Il.* 21.195–7 with the commentary II **221** ix 1–25, noting also that Ocean (or the ocean) could be called Acheloios: G. B. D'Alessio, *JHS* 124 (2004) 16–37. The relation of the ocean to the various rivers through the exchange of water is an idea expressed also in Arist. *Mete.* 354b16–17 and Hes. *Th.* 337–45, where all male children of the ocean are said to be rivers.

5 ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φ̣α[. Perhaps restore φ̣α[ντασίαν, a term of frequent occurrence in the Homeric scholia; see J. Baar, *Index zu den Ilias-Scholien* (1961) 199.

6–7]ρ̣ο̣ις. ὅτι ἀμφοτέ]ρ̣ο̣ις would be satisfactory, with ἀμφοτέροις standing for both ἀθανάτοισι and θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

7–8 α̣ ̣ ( ) ̣ η̣υδον̣. Part of *Il.* 2.1–2 is probably quoted: θεοί τε καὶ ἀν̣έ̣(ρες) ἱ(πποκορυσταὶ) ηὗδον. The gist of the comment in 7–8 could be that gods too sleep at dusk and wake up at dawn, as mortals do; cf. sch bT on *Il.* 1.475 ἠέλιος κατέδυ: ὅρος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὕπνου καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἡλίου δύσις, and 14.233.

η̣υδον. The scribe seems to have first written ε, which he changed to η. Our papyrus is unique in witnessing ηὗδον instead of εὗδον; see West's apparatus. After ηυδον there is a space of one letter.

ἐπι τ̣ ν ς̣[. ἐπί may suggest that we have a comment on ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν (*Od.* 3.2), which could have been written in the lost part of 6. ζείδωρον receives plenty of notice in the scholia and the lexicographers, but there is no match with what we have here.

9 πρ̣ο̣β̣α( ) λ̣εγ̣ ( ) ἐπὰν κρύψη[. πρ̣ο̣β̣ά(λλειν), πρ̣ο̣β̣ά(λλεσθαι), or προβα(ίνειν), then λ̣έγε̣(ι), or λ̣έγε̣(ται), or λ̣έγο̣(υσι). After that, (*sc.* ὁ ἥλιος) ἐπὰν κρύψῃ [τὴν σελήνην / τοὺς ἀστέρας / τὰ ἄστρα. There is no correspondence with the sch D and lexica. The idea of the moon and/or the stars being hidden by the sun is common in ancient literature and astrological treatises; cf. e.g. Plut. *Coniug. Prae.* 139c.1 f., *Aet. Rom.* 269c.3 f., *De Iside et Osiride* 372d.9 f., sch on E. *Hipp.* 851.2f., Jo. Chrys. PG 57.64.31, Theo. Sm. 136.10f., 137.16f., Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae* 13.1–5.

10–11 οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αυτ[ ]μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖ̣ς̣[. The point may be that the sun is not

thought of as resting/living either among the mortals or among the immortals; e.g. *οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτ[ὸν (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) μὴ / μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς / ἀνθρώποις] μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς [ἀεὶ μένειν νομίζουσι / φασί.*

12ff. Apparently these lines comment on *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον*, the first hemistich of *Od.* 3.2, which should have appeared as a lemma before line 6; the diagonal stroke written in the left margin may relate to this—or it could mark the beginning of the comment on *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον*.

12 /. The inclined stroke occurs in literary papyri with various uses; see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (1992) 17–18.

ἔχουσι. The subject may be *οἱ θεοί*, or a relative referring to them, e.g. *οἱ/οἵτινες*.

τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς [. One may supplement *ἀέρα*, according to Aristarchus' doctrine that it is the region of the air that is located below the *αἰθήρ*, and the latter is also called *οὐρανός*, cf. sch bT on *Il.* 15.192–3 *πάντα τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα τῷ Διί φησι δοθῆναι, διὰ μὲν τῶν νεφελῶν τὸν φωτιζόμενον ἀέρα, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως νεφελῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ νέφη τόπον, ὃν καὶ οὐρανὸν ὀνομάζει*, sch A on *Il.* 43.3, sch A on *Il.* 14.288, and see Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers* 75–105. Very tentatively one may restore 12 as: *ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς [ἀέρα καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα ὅν φασι*, which should mean that the gods have control over both regions of the air/sky.

13 *καὶ χάλκεον οὐρα(νόν)*. Cf. *Il.* 17.425, Pi. *Pyth.* 10.27 and *Nem.* 6.3, Eu on *Od.* II 101.22–4 and on *Il.* III 144.19 and 186.12–14. Cf. also *(Διὸς) χαλκοβατὲς δῶ* in *Il.* 1.426, 14.173, 21.438, 505, *Od.* 8.321.

οὐρα(νόν). Cf. 14. This abbreviation (by suspension) differs from those cited for the same word by McNamee, *Abbreviations* 74.

13–14 *διος[| οὐρα(νὸν) ἵκεν*. Probably a citation of *Il.* 17.424–5 *διὸ ς[ιδήρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς χάλκεον / οὐρα(νὸν) ἵκε*, the only passage in Homer where the *οὐρανός* is called *χάλκεος*.

14–15 *κατὰ τὸ ἰςχ[| καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγει*. The gist of this part could be deduced from the scholia on *Il.* 4.2 (*χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ*): sch A *πῶς τὸν οὐρανὸν πολύχαλκον λέγει καὶ πάλιν χρυσοῦν, ὡς τὸ χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ; ἰστέον δὲ . . . ὅταν δὲ καλόν, χρυσοῦν*; sch Ge *ἰστέον ὅτι ὅταν μὲν στερεὸν τὸν οὐρανόν φησι, πολύχαλκον λέγει, ὅταν δὲ λαμπρὸν χρυσοῦν*; sch D *χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κεχρυσωμένῳ καὶ καλῷ ἐδάφει/οἴκῳ. ἰστέον οὖν ὅτι ὅταν μὲν στερεὸν λέγειν βούληται, τότε πολύχαλκόν φησιν, ὅταν δὲ καλὸν χρυσοῦν λέγει τὸν οὐρανόν*; cf. also sch Pind. *Pyth.* X.42a, Eu on *Il.* I 687.16f., and II 523.11–524.10. Here too the commentator seems to refer to both qualities of the sky, the strength/solidity (*ἰςχυρόν* as synonym of *στερεόν*) and brightness. One could restore *κατὰ τὸ ἰςχ[υρὸν χάλκεον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ λαμπρὸν] καὶ χρυσοῦν λέγει* (*χάλκεον* may have been omitted, or we could have had *πολύχαλκον*, as in the scholia on *Il.* 4.2; *σιδήρεον*, as in *Od.* 15.329 [17.565], is a less likely possibility). If so, *καί* in 15 would be responsive (Denniston, *Greek Particles* 293 f.).

15 *λέγει* probably refers to Homer (cf. 2, 9). A supplement such as *ἄλλος δέ* in 14 would be awkward in juxtaposition with *οἱ δέ* (15). *οἱ δέ* could start a different explanation of the *χάλκεον οὐρανόν*, and F. Pontani suggested that it could be possibly related to sound, e.g. *οἱ δέ χ[άλκεον διὰ τὸν ἦχον*; cf. Eu. on *Il.* IV 74.4 f.

17 .]. *η Πύλος ἕτερος μ*. [. This line may refer to the location, disputed already in antiquity, of Nestor's Pylos, summed up in the ancient riddle *ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο. Πύλος γε μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄλλος*, recorded in Ar. *Eq.* 1059, Plut. *De vitando aere alieno* 829c, Strab. 3.7.8, Steph. *Eth.* 377.10, and elsewhere. There are three candidates: Messenia, Triphylia, and Elis; see further A. Heubeck, S. West, J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* i (1988) 159–60. Alternatively, this line may have included a grammatical observation on the fact that Pylos in Homer is both feminine and masculine; see Steph. *Eth.* 540.4, and Eu on *Il.* I 458.2–6.

21 *Νηλέως κ*[. This may be a gloss to *Νηλῆ(ος) ἐϋ(κτίμενον)*, e.g. *Νηλέως κ[αλῶς ἐκτισμένον* (cf. sch D on *Il.* 2.501 and 570), or *κ[αλῶς οἰκούμενον* (cf. sch on Thuc. 3.104.3, and Eu on *Il.* IV 454.3), or *κ[αλῶς κατεσκευασμένον*; cf. sch D on *Il.* 5.543. *πτολίεθρον* could have also been glossed.

22 επιμ[. Perhaps a form of ἐπιμέλεια or ἐπιμέλομαι/ἐπιμελοῦμαι.
23]. ῡεν. Perhaps ἕ]φῡεν, though φ is difficult.
24].ῃπ[. .]ν. ἤπ[ιο]ν or ῡήπ[ιο]ν.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4821. Commentary on *Odyssey* xv

104/164(a) 7.7 × 12.3 cm Later second century
Plate VII

Remains of the upper part of a column from a roll. The writing runs parallel to the fibres; the back is blank. Written width *c.*6.2 cm; the full written height cannot be estimated, but the twenty preserved lines cover 9 cm. Top margin as preserved is 3.3 cm and the right intercolumnium at least 1.2 cm. What remains of the left intercolumnium amounts to 0.3 cm.

The text is written in tiny capitals, upright or slightly backward-sloping, rounded and regular, slowly made and sometimes equipped with ornamental finials. Bilinearity is generally observed, violated only in the case of ϫ (above), ρ (below) and φ and ϯ (above and below). The letters bear a general resemblance to those of the London Hyperides (*GLH* 13b) and also of XLII **3010** (Narrative about Iolaus) both assigned to the second century, but is more slanting and ornamented, thus probably later in the century. For a dated parallel, see V **842** *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (*GLH* 17b) on the verso of a document (VI **918**) probably from the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

There are no accents or breathings. Punctuation is apparently not used, except to mark a new lemma (dicolon in 2). Elision is effected but not marked both in Homeric quotations (7) and in the commentary (15). δέ in 12 should probably not be regarded as an instance of *scriptio plena*, as there it may fill space at line-end. There is no opportunity to observe whether or not iota adscript was written (for a possible exception see the palaeographical apparatus on 11). The scribe employed abbreviation at least once (13).

A dicolon in 2 marks the beginning of a new lemma (the dicolon stands high in the line, inserted in a normal letter-space, with the first letter of the lemma slightly enlarged). Lemmata, when they begin a line, are put in ecthesis (*Od.* 15.90 and 15.91 occupying ll. 7–8 and 10–11 respectively); for a possible accompanying *paragraphos* see 7 n. In the single case where a lemma starts at the middle of a line (*Od.* 15.83 in l. 2), we may assume that, as in other commentaries, the line following is not made to project. All three preserved lemmata consist of whole verses and not parts thereof.

The text has been corrected by the same hand in three places (2, 3, 12). An ob-

lique stroke is always drawn through the mistaken letter. In 3 a dot is added above the letter and in 12 the suprascript α is meant to replace the deleted ε.

The passage commented on is *Od.* 15.78–91. Telemachus has asked that Menelaus allow him to return to Ithaca immediately (64–6). The last part of Menelaus' answer (78–85) consists of an untimely proposal to him for their going together on a journey 'through Hellas and mid-Argos'. Telemachus stresses that it is urgent for him to go back home (87–91). The commentary includes a discussion on the correct form of a verb in syncope (2–5), an aesthetic observation not known from elsewhere (7–9), and reports of two atheteses known also from the medievally transmitted scholia (1–2 and 11ff.). The comment on the athetesis of *Od.* 15.91 reveals a dispute among ancient scholars. No new readings of the text of the *Odyssey* are attested either in the lemmata or in the explanations themselves (cf. 2 n.).

For published reports of the medieval tradition we have had to rely largely on G. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* ii (Oxford 1855) 607. Some of the material in this papyrus (1, 2–6, 10ff.) is repeated, with the fluidity expected of scholia, in sch. *Od.* 15.78, 83 and 91, preserved in Codex Harleianus Musei Britannici 5674 (H); another part is not (ll. 7–9). On the other hand, H contains things absent from the papyrus (e.g. part of sch. *Od.* 15.78, sch. *Od.* 15.81, 90). It may be concluded that **4821** and H (as well as other manuscripts, and Ap. Soph.) are drawing on the same tradition, although the compiler of **4821** probably found this material in a fuller and less corrupt state (see below, 4–5 n., 10–17 n.). For other papyrus commentaries on the *Odyssey* see above **4820** introd. A certain degree of continuity between previously published papyrus commentaries on the first half of the *Odyssey* and the medievally transmitted scholia has already been posited by F. Pontani, *Sguardi su Ulisse* (2005) 130–6 (on e.g. PSI XV 1464), and this is now confirmed for the second part of the poem.

We are indebted to Professor Pontani for improvements on an earlier draft, and for confirmation that the relevant scholia in Dindorf's edition are also to be read in MSS M (Marc. gr. 613) and X (Vind. phil. gr. 133).

]υ̣ντοοιη̄ε̣παι
]α̣ι̣ϲ·αυτωϲ.μ⟦π⟧
c.13].ι⟦ϲ⟧ενγεφερε
c.5].[..].ν̣δυειν[...].τιγαραπο
]..μψεικαιγαρειμηεϲτ.[.]ομη
].ουτογουναναλογονφ[..]....
μηπατεραντιθεονδιζη[...].ϲ̣α̣υ̣
...ολωμαιελλειπειοκα[...].οϲο
.]ωμαιειδεμηαπ̣α̣θη.[.].ογοϲ
....].ιεκμεγαρωνκειμ.[..]ονεϲ
...]νοληταιηθετειτοφι[..].ερδεϲ
.].ραγανπ⟦ε⟧ʽάριϲτηϲιτοηθοϲοδε
c.5].φ̣¯τοαυτοϲολω̣μ̣α̣ιηκου
c.4]...παϲμουοβι̣οϲαπολη̣
c.6]τοδαγνοη̣ϲ̣αν..τινα̣
c.8]ξαιτον.[].ιμ.[..].[
c.8]μ̣ηλιον[...].[
]δ̣επαϲα.[
].ριδ[
]...[
. . . . .

2 ϲ·, top of ϲ segues into a mid-point, with a high point directly above it, as of dicolon placed in a normal letter-space 3].., upright topped by horizontal extending to right (τ or Γ) 4].[, speck on line]., indeterminate traces]., lower right-hand arc 5 ..μ, horizontal trace at two-thirds height; upper arc and crossbar below (top of ϵ, θ) .[, top and middle of upright 6 .ο, right-hand arc high in the line, and below it remains of long descender, with a short horizontal stroke emerging at the left edge, low and between the lines]...., lower part of oblique descending from left to right as of ⲁ, λ; curved base under high horizontal (Γ, π, ϲ, τ?); traces of high horizontal (Γ, π, ϲ, τ?); apparently parts of diagonal and the right-hand leg of Ν(?) extended at line-end 7]., curved base 8 ..., first, high horizontal; second and third, high horizontals or flattened tops of curved letters]., upright topped by horizontal extending to right (Γ, π, τ) 9 .[, spot of ink level with tops of letters]., foot of descending oblique 10]., remains of upper left-hand arc .[, upright with junction of horizontal at two-thirds height 11 ολητ, upright added above the left extremity of τ, conceivably a (mistaken) insertion of adscript iota 13]., upper right-hand arc of φ with looped top of vertical, with horizontal traces following at this level 14]..., first and second, traces of ink at base-line; foot of upright 16 ν., upright with a trace at mid-height, then horizontal at half-height .[, lower left-hand arc].[upright stroke 17].[, speck of ink at mid-height 18 .[, speck of ink at half-height 19]., foot of descending oblique (as of ⲁ, λ) and perhaps two dots (if they are ink) high in the line arranged horizontally (as of χ?) 20]...[, curving foot (ⲁ, κ, λ, μ); lower left-hand arc; upright, then mid-level horizontal, then at its right-hand end another upright descending to mid-height

ἠθετο]ῦντο οἱ η̄ ἐπαι-
]αις: **αὔτως ἀμ-**
πέμψει, δώσει δέ] τι ἕν γε φέρε- *Od.* 15.83
σθαι].[..].ν δυεῖν [...].τι γὰρ ἀπο-
πέμψει· καὶ γάρ εἰ μὴ ἔστι[ν] Ὁμή-
ρου, τὸ γοῦν ἀνάλογον φ[..]....
μὴ πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζή[μεν]ος αὐ- *Od.* 15.90
τὸς ὄλωμαι· ἐλλείπει ὁ ⟨καί⟩, "κα[ὶ αὐ]τὸς ὄ-
[λ]ωμαι"· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπαθὴς [ὁ] λόγος.
ἤ τί μ]οι ἐκ μεγάρων κειμή[λι]ον ἐσ- *Od.* 15.91
θλὸ]ν ὄληται· ἠθετεῖτο· φι[λο]κερδὲς
γ]ὰρ ἄγαν παρίστηςι τὸ ἦθος. ὁ δὲ
Ἀριστ]οφά(νης) τὸ "αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι" ἤκου-
c.4]... "πᾶς μου ὁ βίος ἀπόλη-
ται"· τοῦ]το δ' ἀγνοήςαντά τινα
c.8]ξαι τὸν "ἤ τί μο[ι ἐ]κ [με-
γάρων κει]μήλιον [ἐςθ]λ[ὸν ὄληται"
]δεπαςα.[
].ριδ[
]...[

'(1) . . . these eight verses [*Od.* 15.78–85] were athetized . . . (2–6) . . . [15.83] "*αὔτως ἀμπέμψει δώσει δέ τι ἕν γε φέρεσθαι*" ("[nor will anyone] send us empty-handed, but will give us some one thing at least to bear with us"): [the verse was marked], because *ἀμπέμψει* should be written with double-pi; for it is derived from *ἀποπέμψει*. In fact, (or: even) if it is not by Homer, . . . it is at least consistent . . . (7–9) [15.90] "*μὴ πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζήμενος αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι*" ("I am afraid that in seeking my godlike father I may be lost myself"): "even" is missing (i.e. in the phrase "I may be lost myself"); understand: "I even may be lost myself"; otherwise the speech is unemotional. (10–12) [15.91] "*ἤ τί μοι ἐκ μεγάρων κειμήλιον ἐσθλὸν ὄληται*" ("or have some noble treasure lost from my palace"): it was athetized, because it depicts his (i.e. Telemachus') character as excessively greedy for gain. Aristophanes understood the phrase "*αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι*" ("I may be lost myself") to mean "*πᾶς μου ὁ βίος ἀπόληται*" ("that my entire livelihood may be lost"). [He says that] someone, having failed to understand this, [added] the verse [15.91] "*ἤ τί μοι ἐκ μεγάρων κειμήλιον ἐσθλὸν ὄληται*" ("or have some noble treasure lost from my palace").'

1–2 *ἠθετο]ῦντο* is restored from sch. H *Od.* 15.78, which also has *οἱ η'* (*sc. στίχοι*) as subject. The mention of athetesis of 15.78–85 is preserved in MS H (Professor Pontani notes that the same lines are marked with *obeli* in MS M). Cf. the testimony collected by O. Carnuth for these verses for Aristonicus (*Aristonici περὶ σημείων Ὀδυσσείας reliquiae emendatiores*, Leipzig 1869, 133), although Aristonicus is not mentioned by name in these. Whether the athetesis had older authority is uncertain: the other fragments ascribed to Aristonicus mention only Zenodotus or Aristophanes as antecedents. For

Aristarchus as a possible source for Aristonicus, see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* i (Oxford 1968) 214. After the numeral *η′* we would expect an expanation of the grounds for this athetesis. Two possibilities may be noted. In his note on *Od.* 15.80 Eustathius (1775.5–6) recognizes that Menelaus' proposal is ill-timed: *καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν* [= Menelaus] *οὕτω παρατείνει τὸν καιρόν. ὁ δὲ Τηλέμαχος, ὡς καὶ προερρέθη, ταχὺ ἀπελθεῖν ἴεται.* Another, perhaps better, line of approach is connected to the idea provided by sch. *Od.* 15.85 *καὶ ταῦτα ἁρπεπῆ διδάσκεσθαι πρὸς Μενελάου τὸν Τηλέμαχον τὸ ἀπαιτεῖν.* Menelaus here proposes that Telemachus and himself should engage in a journey mainly for the sake of profit. Such conduct, however, would make them look like beggars and is therefore unacceptable for Homeric heroes: see 10–17 n. below. In this case the ground for the deletion would clearly be an instance of applying the text-critical principle of *ἁπρέπεια*. In 1–2 we should perhaps look for a form of *ἐπαιτεῖν* (a synonym for *ἀπαιτεῖν*). F. Blass, *Die Interpolationen der Odyssey* (Halle 1904) 160, anticipated by C. G. Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 1 (1873) 6 = *Miscellanea critica* (Leiden 1876) 22, suggested emending *ἀπαιτεῖν* to *ἐπαιτεῖν* in the scholion. Professor Pontani suggests a continuation like *ἐπαι|[τεῖν γὰρ πῶς ἂν φήϲ]αις;* 'Because, how could you say that he should become a beggar?'.

2 *]αις: αὖτωϲ*. The scribe has connected the final letter of the preceding explanation to the dicolon (positioned narrowly in the letter-space), before beginning the quotation of *Od.* 15.83 by enlarging the initial letter of *αὖτως*, the first word of the lemma. The scribe's practice, however, seems different in 6 and 10, where he quotes *Od.* 15.90 and 91 in new lines set in ecthesis. At the end of 2 he cancelled the letter *π*. One might hypothesise that he intended to divide *ἀμπέμψει* as *ἀμπ-έμψει*, against the rules, but then thought better of it, and deleted *π* from where he had put it and wrote *-πέμψει* on the next line. On the other hand (as Professor Pontani points out), *ἀππέμψει* is the theoretical form that the scholion wants to restore, so that the deleted *π* could be the remnant of an attempted correction, or of an earlier reading along the lines suggested by the scholion.

3 *τ̣ι[[ϲ]]*. Perhaps *τιϲ* was written in error for *τι* under the influence of *τιϲ* in *Od.* 15.82.

4–5 *ἀπο|π̣έ̣μψει*. The matter under discussion is the correct form the verb *ἀποπέμψει* should take when subjected to syncope. Two different views were put forward in antiquity: Ap. Soph. 40.27 s.v. *ἀππέμψει· κατὰ ϲυγκοπήν, ἀποπέμψει*, and sch. *Od.* 15.83 *ἀμπέμψει διὰ τοῦ μ. ἔϲτι γὰρ ἀποπέμψει τὸ τέλειον.* The latter view is false: *ἀμπέμψει* would stem from *ἀναπέμψει*, not *ἀποπέμψει*. The false connection of *ἀμπέμψει* with *ἀποπέμψει* must have arisen in a situation identical to that of a note in P. Amh. 18 on *Od.* 15. In iv 51 we read the correct pair *ἀμπέ[μψ]αι ἀναπέμψαι*. However, *ἀπο* was added above *ἀνα* as an 'emendation' or a variant. In **4821**, *δυεῖν* leads one to suppose that 4 could accommodate something like *ὅ]τ[ι ϲ]ὺν δυεῖν [ππ· ἔ]ϲτι γὰρ* etc. In this context *ὅτι* would explain the presence of a critical symbol against *Od.* 15.83, which would attract attention to the false formation of *ἀμπέμψει*. If this is correct, the papyrus would confirm Dindorf's correction of the scholion (in the apparatus on p. 607 of his edition), as approved by A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik* i (Leipzig 1884) 611; already Dindorf had adduced the parallel with Ap. Soph. 40.27 as pointing in this direction.

5–6 After arguing for *ἀππέμψει* instead of *ἀμπέμψει*, the commentator may be answering a possible objection, i.e., that *ἀππέμψει* is not Homeric, arguing that it is at least analogous to *ἀποπέμψει*. For an example of discussion of whether or not a particular word is Homeric, see sch. *Il.* 9.700a2 *ἀγνοῥίηιϲιν ἐνῆκαϲ· τινὲϲ "ἀνῆκαϲ". καὶ ἔϲτιν Ὁμήρου· "ἄφρονα τοῦτον ἀνῆκαν"* (*Il.* 5.761). Another line of approach, suggested by Professor Pontani and adopted in the translation, would be to take this as referring back to the previously mentioned athetesis of *Od.* 15.83, so that the understood subject would be *ὁ ϲτίχοϲ*: 'Indeed, if it (*sc.* the line) is not by Homer . . .', or (taking *καί* directly with *εἰ*): 'And even if the line is not by Homer . . .'. *ἀνάλογον* should be taken, in the same sense as *ἀναλογία* in the Homeric scholia, to refer to consistency of linguistic forms. It would be tempting to read a form of *φυλάϲϲω* in 6 ('. . . it must at least keep the consistency', or '. . . one must keep the consistency'), but we have not found a reading that suites the space or the traces.

7 It is difficult to tell whether the short horizontal above the line is the bottom of the descender of rho from the previous line curving sharply to the right (as it does e.g. in 10, 11, 12), or the right end of a long *paragraphos*, marking the beginning of a new lemma, as in other papyrus commentaries of this kind. The former is perhaps more likely, given the distance the trace stands into the line, together with the coherence of the angle with the remains of the descender of rho.

8 *καί* was omitted by haplography. Its (understood) omission is sometimes noted by ancient commentators, e.g. sch. *Od.* 13.72, sch. *Il.* 2.353c, 3.387a, 8.213c, 13.362b, 14.170b, 24.111; at sch. *Il.* 3.387a and 24.111 the desiderated *καί* would be (as here) 'intensivum', i.e. in the sense 'also', 'even', 'too'. The commentator seems to be keeping very close to the tenor of the text; he has noticed that if Telemachus perishes, this will be the second bereavement in his family, the first being that of Odysseus. He suggests that we should mentally supply this dimension by understanding *καί* before *αὐτός*; otherwise the tone of Telemachus' remark will be unemotional. It may be noted that MS H mentions a different 'omission' in this line, but similarly making Telemachus express special concern for himself, namely that of '*δέδοικα*', as stated in the scholion on *Od.* 15.90: *ἔξωθεν προσληπτέον τὸ δέδοικα.*

9 *ἀπαθής*: not usually applied to language or a speech in the scholia. At sch. *Il.* 17.238–45a[1], a[2] it is said of a man, not of Homer's or someone's style of speaking. The significance the ancient commentators of Homer attached to *πάθος* as a feature of his epics is brought out by J. Griffin, *CQ* 29 (1976) 161–87.

10–17 In these lines the papyrus gives a much longer version of sch. *Od.* 15.91 than is preserved in the medieval MSS. At the beginning, the text notes the athetesis of *Od.* 15.91 and then gives the reason for it: this verse depicts Telemachus' character as excessively greedy. Then from 12 (*ὁ δὲ . . .*) a new section starts which (if the beginning of 13 is rightly reconstructed; see below 13 n.) cites Aristophanes' understanding of *αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι* in *Od.* 15.90. Aristophanes took this phrase to mean (13–14 *ἤκου*|[(*c*)*εν*? see below) *πᾶς μου ὁ βίος ἀπόληται*, 'my entire livelihood may be lost'. Finally, from 15 the text is about someone who failed to understand (*ἀγνοήσαντα*) this, and for this reason did something. On the basis of sch. *Od.* 15.91, *ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν βίον μου ἀπολέσῃ. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγνοήσαντες προσένειμαν τὸν* (*τοῖς* H: corr. Cobet) *ἑξῆς· ὅ ἐστι σμικρολόγου, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησί*, we may formulate a hypothesis that may restore some unity to the three sections of the papyrus' note. What the person who failed to understand v. 90 in this sense did was, according to the mediaeval scholion, to interpolate v. 91: if v. 90 had been understood in this way, there would have been no need for interpolation, because this sense is perfectly in line with that of the previous verses, namely *Od.* 15. 88–9: *. . . οὐ γὰρ ὄπισθεν / οὖρον ἰὼν κατέλειπον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν ἐμοῖσι / μὴ πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζήμενος αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι*, 'I did not leave behind me, when I went, anyone to watch over my property. I am afraid that in seeking my godlike father my entire livelihood may be lost'.

How then did the interpolator understand v. 90 according to the scholiast or Aristophanes himself? It seems certain that the interpolator interpreted *αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι* in the most obvious way, i.e. in reference to Telemachus' death, as '[I am afraid that in seeking my godlike father] I may be lost myself'. This interpretation causes v. 90 to become an illogical and inconsistent continuation of vv. 88–9. The interpolator added v. 91 (= 'or some noble treasure may be lost from my palace') in an attempt to link the sense to that of vv. 88–9 and thus diminish the inconsistency. However, the verse did not succeed in concealing its nature as interpolation, for its content (imputing as it does *φιλοκέρδεια*, *σμικρολογία*) was against the assumed Homeric code of values. Thus it was athetized and the correct interpretation of v. 90 was advanced (by Aristophanes) to show that the sense of this portion of the text does not require any kind of improvement. If this line of thought is correct, we should note that Dindorf should have ascribed the H-scholion to *Od.* 15.90, not 91. We can then observe that the papyrus' *πᾶς μου ὁ βίος ἀπόληται*, which is syntactically equivalent to *αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι*, degenerated into *τὸν βίον μου ἀπολέσῃ*.

13 *Ἀριστ*]*οφά*(*νης*) suggests itself (the phi is not raised, and the ink above and to the right is

consistent with the bottom and tail of a suprascript alpha). For the abbreviation see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (*BASP* Suppl. 3: 1981) 10.

13–14 Either ἤκου|[cεν or ἤκου|[εν; for the use of the imperfect in such a case cf. e.g. sch. *Il.* 16.748b, although the present certainly would be the normal and expected tense. Here ἀκούειν has no doubt the meaning of *intelligere*. After the verb we may expect οὕτω (cf. sch. *Il.* 23.296c) or, as Professor Pontani suggests: ἀντὶ τοῦ "πᾶc κτλ. The former, however, is too short for the space, while the traces make it impossible to read τοῦ (or one of its abbreviations) before πᾶc. Perhaps ἤκου|[cεν ἀ]μ̣τ̣ὶ ⟨τοῦ⟩ "πᾶc κτλ. could be postulated here.

15–17 A plausible reconstruction of these lines might be something like

[ταιˑ τοῦ]το δ' ἀγνοήcαντ̣ά̣ τινά
[φηcιν ὑποτά]ξαι τὸν "ἦ τ̣ί μ̣ο̣[ι ἐ]κ̣ [με-]
[γάρων κει]μήλιον [ἐcθ]λ̣[ὸν ὄληται"].

The subject of φηcί, which governs the accusative and infinitive construction, is probably Aristophanes. Who the anonymous persons criticized might be (whether a scholar or, for example, a rhapsode), is uncertain. Zenodotus is sometimes said to ὑποτάccειν verses and is often accused of ignorance (see e.g. sch. *Il.* 3.334–5a, 5.807, 13.808a, 14.136a), but if he were criticized here, we would expect him to be named. For quotation of a verse beginning with τόν alone (without cτίχον), cf. sch. *Il.* 2.668 διὸ προcέθηκε τὸν "ἐκ Διόc, ὅc τε θεοῖcι καὶ ἀνθρώποιcιν ἀνάccει" [*Il.* 2.669]. Other verse interpolations due to misunderstanding are mentioned e.g. in sch. *Od.* 16.99 and sch. *Il.* 1.474a.

18]δ̣επαca̱[admits of a number of different articulations, among them]δ̣ὲ πᾶc ἀ̱[(a slightly altered repetition of πᾶc μου ὁ βίοc ἀπόληται?). Professor Pontani suggests a possible correspondence with *Od.* 15.102 δέπαc (λάβεν) ἀμφικύπελλον; cf. 120 (with κειμήλια mentioned in the previous line (101), as in *Od.* 15.91, subject of the present note).

19]̣ριδ[. πα]τρίδ- (*Od.* 15.129 cὴν ἐc πατρίδα γαῖαν) appears to be excluded by the trace before ρ. Alternatives such as γ]ὰ̣ρ ἰδ[- or μέ]χ̣ρι δ[- might be considered among others.

G. A. XENIS

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

4822. Declaration of Sheep

73/62(b) 11.5 × 31.8 cm 30 January 3 BC
Plate X

This declaration belongs to the first of the three chronologically successive groups into which S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 168–9, divided such documents. In this first period, which runs until the reign of Claudius, one declaration should have been made annually in late Tybi or early Mecheir (January–February). Only the adult animals were declared, while the young, not subject to taxation, were only mentioned as followers of the flock. Numerous such documents have been published, only three of which predate **4822**: P. Oxy. Hels. 8 (9 BC), P. IFAO I 5 (Oxy.; 8/7 BC), and BGU XVI 2586 (Heracl.; 5 BC); cf. also **4823**. For a list of livestock declarations, see W. Habermann, 'Die Deklarationen von Kleinvieh im römischen Ägypten: Quantitative Aspekte', in P. Herz, G. Waldherr (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Imperium Romanum* (St. Katharinen 2001) 97–100; to the list add P. NYU II 12, ed. *ZPE* 136 (2001) 127–8 (20/21), while P. Hamb. I 34 = SB XXIV 16413 and *ZPE* 106 (1995) 214 = SB XXII 15780. The earlier literature on the issue is collected by B. Kramer on P. Mich. XVIII 782 (pp. 197–8); add now T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* i (München/Leipzig 2002) 213–35 (219–25 for the Oxyrhynchite nome).

This declaration is the oldest of its kind to preserve the names and titles of the officials to whom it is addressed: the *strategus* (Diogenes; the earliest known *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome), the royal scribe (Dionysius; new) and a toparch. The involvement of the royal scribe in the exercise at such an early date was not known (see further 1 n., para. 2). In the other Oxyrhynchite livestock declarations of the reign of Augustus (P. Oxy. Hels. 8; P. IFAO I 5; P. Berl. Möller 7 = SB IV 7344 = CPJ II 412 of 8/9), the upper part of the document is lost. In P. IFAO I 5 the lower part of the papyrus with the signatures is also lost, while in P. Oxy. Hels. 8 only the lower part is preserved but is so damaged that the identities of the three signing officials are not known. As has been observed (P. Oxy. Hels. 8 introd.), the convention up to AD 60 is to include only one signature in the declarations, which, when verifiable, is that of the toparch, even if they are addressed to the *strategus* of the nome. Until the same date the returns that preserve the initial part are all addressed to a single official (mostly the *strategus*, less often the toparch), while from the reign of Nero they were also addressed to more than one official; see C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 37–8, 45, and Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* 219–20, 222–5. In **4822** we have

two signatures, added, it seems, by agents of the *strategus* and the royal scribe; the toparch did not sign.

We may ask whether this was the original declaration, which was to be kept in the state archives, or a copy to be returned to the declarant. According to Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 148–9, the decisive point is the address. The documents to be kept in the archives are addressed to a single official, while an address to a plurality of officers identifies the declarant's copy; Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 42, 45, has argued that the presence or absence of signatures is not conclusive. In this case, since there is a multiple address, signatures, and no number of the τόμος συγκολλήσιμος (Balconi, ibid.), we must have the copy returned to the declarant.

The lower margin measures 12.8 cm. There is a sheet-join down the middle of the document. The papyrus seems to have been folded in half and then three times lengthwise. The back is blank.

Διογένει ϛ̣τ̣[ρα]τ̣ηγῶι καὶ Διονυ(σίωι) βα(σιλικῶι) γρ̣(αμματεῖ) καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ̣[ι] τοπάρχηι
παρὰ Χ[εν]α̣μ̣οῦτος τῆς Πέτρωνος. ἀπο-
γράφομα̣ι ε̣ἰ̣ς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κζ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος τὰ ὑ-
πάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα) κ, καὶ
τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρνας, ἃ̣ νεμήσεται
περὶ Πάϊμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας καὶ δι' ὅ-
λου τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπιμεμειγμένα τοῖς τοῦ
ἀνδρός μου Θώνιος τοῦ Πατοίφιος προβάτοις
διὰ νομέως Λευκαδ̣ίου τοῦ Σωσιβίου,
ὧν καὶ τάξομαι τὸ καθῆκον τέλος.
εὐτύχει.
(vac.)
(m. 2) c.8 π]αρὰ Διογέ(νους) στρα(τηγοῦ) ἀ[ν]αγεγρα( ) πρόβα(τα)
εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) πρ(όβατα)] κ̣. (ἔτους) κζ Καίσ̣α̣[ρος] Μεχ(εὶρ) ε.
(vac.)
(m. 3) κα]τ̣εχώριϲε̣ν ὁ̣ παρὰ Διονυ̣[σίου βα(σιλικοῦ)] γρα(μματέως)
ἀναγεγρα( ) πρόβα(τα) ε̣ἴ̣κοσι, (γίνεται) [πρ(όβατα)] κ̣.
(ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος, Μεχ(εὶρ) ε̄.

1 διονβ$^{\alpha}$ϯ 4 ⌊ 5 /ϯ 8 l. ἐπιμεμιγμένα 13 διογ$^{\alpha}$στρ$^{\alpha}$α[ν]αγεγρ$^{\alpha}$προβ$^{\alpha}$
14 ⌊ με^{x} 15 γρ$^{\alpha}$ 16 αναγεγρ$^{\alpha}$προβ$^{\alpha}$ / 17 ⌊ με^{x}

'To Diogenes, *strategus*, and Dionysius, royal scribe, and Apollonius, toparch, from Chenamus, daughter of Petron. I register for the current 27th year of Caesar the twenty sheep I own, total 20 sheep, and the lambs that follow them, which will pasture in the neighbourhood of Paimis in the western toparchy and throughout the entire nome, mixed with the sheep of my husband Thonis

son of Patoiphis, having as shepherd Leucadius son of Sosibius; I shall also pay the proper tax upon them. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I(?), . . . , agent of Diogenes, strategus, have registered twenty sheep, total 20 sheep. Year 27 of Caesar, Mecheir 5.'

(3rd hand) 'I(?),agent of Dionysius, royal scribe, have entered (and?) registered twenty sheep, total 20 sheep. Year 27 of Caesar, Mecheir 5.'

1 *Διογένει ς̣τ̣[ρα]τηγῶι*. Cf. 13. Diogenes is the earliest known *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Roman period; his next known successor is *Ἡρόστρατος*, attested in LXVII **4552** 1 (AD 16). See J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*[2] (Pap. Flor. XXXVII: Firenze 2006) 88.

Διονυ(σίωι) βα(σιλικῶι) γρ(αμματεῖ). Cf. 15. Dionysius occurs only here. He is to be placed between *Διοσκουρίδης* (P. Ryl. IV 603 introd.; 7 BC?) and *Διοσκουρίδης* (IX **1182** 2, 7, 13; AD 13); see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* ii 1013–14, and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 159. **4822** provides the earliest firm evidence for the involvement of the royal scribe in the registration of livestock (see also below, 13–17 n., last para.). The next certain attestation of this official in this context is in XXXVIII **2851** of 60. See further Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 229–35.

1–2 *Ἀπολλωνίῳ[ι] τοπάρχηι*. This official too is probably new, not to be identified with Apollonius, toparch of the lower toparchy, attested in P. Oxy. Hels. 9 (26), II **356** = SB XVI 12761 (27); see also LV **3778** 37 (21) with n., and II **350** = SB XVI 12760.16 (23 or 25) with **3778** 37 n. (= BL IX 292). For the role of the toparch in this exercise, see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 221–2, 230–33.

3 *Χ[εν]α̣μοῦτος*. The name has occurred in LIX **3997** 41 (III/IV) *Χεν̣α̣μοῦν* (accusative), and very probably in P. Harris I 142.3 (Oxy.; 126), where *Χενάμου* may be read as *Χεναμοῦ[τος]* (cited as *Χεναμοῦ[νις]*? in B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C. – A.D. 96* (ASP 25: Chico 1983) no. 876).

This declaration is filed by a woman who acts without a guardian, as in P. Princ. II 24 (21), II **350** = SB XVI 12760 (23 or 25), and II **355** = SB XVI 12763 (41). Contrast II **357** = SB XX 14095 ii (later I), where the woman declarant has a guardian, and LV **3782** 3–4 (172/3), though there the declarant is a freedwoman.

5 *πρόβατα εἴκοσι*. This is a bigger flock of sheep than most others that feature in Oxyrhynchite declarations of livestock, though small in comparison to Arsinoite flocks; see Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 42, and Habermann, 'Die Deklarationen von Kleinvieh' 81–6. This flock had no goats, which is not very common; contrast **4823** 7.

6 *τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρνας*. On the translation of this expression, see Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 171 n. 4; CPJ III 482.9–10 n.; P. Batav. 8.1–2 n.; BGU XVI 2578.12–13 n. The demotic Egyptian equivalent translates 'leurs petits qui sont sous leurs pattes, c'est à dire qui les suivent au pied' (P. Dion. p. 105). Renderings such as 'hinterher dazu geboren' (*WB*), or 'the offspring of the cattle' (LSJ), adopted in some editions, do not apply to texts that mention a definite number of young, e.g., P. Ross. Georg. II 13.3–4 (Oxy.; 54–68), PSI I 40.1 (Oxy.; 129), or P. Corn. 15.16–17 (Ars.; 129).

νεμήσεται. This verb is standard in Oxyrhynchite declarations of this kind, the exception being XXXVIII **2850** 11 (29), which has *ἀναβήσονται*; see Balconi, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 40.

7 *Πάϊμιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας*. On this village, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Pap. Flor. IX: Firenze 1987) 130; Calderini and Daris, *Dizionario* iv 12, Suppl. ii 144, iii 117; additional references in LXIX **4739** 6 (127), and I **202** = SB XXII 15364.13 (582).

8 *ἐπιμεμειγμένα* (l. *ἐπιμεμι-*). *ἐπιμεμειγμένα* is placed after *δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ* also in II **245** 15 (26). For the different positions of this expression within the declaration formula, see Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 40.

9 *Θώνιος τοῦ Πατοίφιος*. The name *Πάτοιφις* occurs only in two other papyri, both from

Oxyrhynchus and of about the same date as **4822**. We find one Thonis alias Patoiphis, son of Thonis, in XII **1453** 2–3 (30/29 BC), and a Patoiphis, who might be the father of one Thonis, in P. IFAO I 13.29 (23 BC) (cf. 28; see Jones and Whitehorne, *Register* no. 3148). **1453** 7 refers to Petosiris, son of 'the aforementioned Patoiphis', which indicates that Thonis alias Patoiphis went by the name 'Patoiphis'. It is eminently possible that **1453**, P. IFAO I 13 and **4822** refer to members of the same family, and it is conceivable that the declarant in **4822** is the son of the man in **1453**. (The suggestion to read *Πατρῖφι{ο}ς* and *Πατρίφι⟨ο⟩ς* instead of *Πατοῖφι{ο}ς* and *Πατοίφι⟨ο⟩ς* in **1453** 3 and 7 respectively, made in *ZPE* 70 (1987) 116 = BL IX 186, and said to be supported by the photograph, may be ignored.)

10 *διὰ νομέως*. The same expression is found in all such texts except for P. Berl. Möller 7.18, which reads *ὑπὸ νομέως* (the reading of *ed. pr.* has kindly been confirmed on the original by Dr F. Reiter).

The name of the shepherd is usually followed by the names of the village and toparchy in which he is registered (*λαογραφομένου/ἀναγραφομένου εἰς/περί* + place name). The only exceptions from the Oxyrhynchite nome appear to be the later I **74** 23–4 (116), PSI I 40.9 (129), and P. Princ. II 28.13–14 (219). P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 135–6, explains the absence of this detail on the grounds that in the first of these three documents the shepherd is the declarant himself, while in the other two the names of the shepherds are probably not given. None of Sijpesteijn's arguments apply to our declaration, which is the only exception to this Oxyrhynchite 'norm' (perhaps because of its early date?).

11 *τὸ καθῆκον τέλος*. This is a non-specific term for the *ἐννόμιον*, the pasture tax on sheep and goats; see LV **3778** 35–6 n. and **3779** 8 n., with references to further literature.

13–17 A brief discussion of signatures in first-century Oxyrhynchite declarations of livestock is offered in P. Oxy. Hels. 8 introd. The evidence has since increased, and it is worth listing it in a systematic fashion here (see also Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 221 n. 497, 223 nn. 505–6). These signatures display the following patterns:

(1) Three signatures, damaged at the beginning; the second ends *ἀναγέγρα(φα) πρόβατα κτλ.*: P. Oxy. Hels. 8.3 ff. (9 BC). It is conceivable that these three subscriptions are those of (the agents of) the *strategus*, the royal scribe and the toparch. (The alternatives suggested in the note cannot be confirmed.)

(2) *name - - - ἀναγέγρα(φα) πρόβατα κτλ.*: P. Berl. Möller 7.23 ff. (AD 8/9). *Ed. pr.* read the following text:

> *Καλλικλῆς ὁ π(αρὰ) Ἀλ( ) σεση(μείωμαι) πρό(βατα) ἑκατὸν*
> *τεσσαράκοντα ἓξ αἶγας*
> *εἴκοσι ἓξ traces*

Line 23 has given much difficulty; for a synopsis of earlier discussions, see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 221 n. 496. Dr F. Reiter, who kindly checked the original at our request, cautiously proposes that the passage may be read as follows:

> *Καλλικλῆ. . . . ἀναγέγρα(φα) πρόβ(ατα) ἑκα-*
> *τὸν τες[σ]αράκοντα ἓξ, αἶγας*
> *εἴκοσι ἓξ, (γίνονται) πρ(όβατα) ρμς, [αἶγ(ες) κς.]*

What comes before *ἀναγέγρα(φα)* remains unclear; none of the readings suggested previously seems possible (we have also seen a digital image).

(3) *name τοπάρχης ἀναγέγρα(φα) πρόβατα κτλ.*: P. Princ. II 24.23, II **356** = SB XVI 12761.16 (27); possibly also II **352** = SB XVI 12762.12 (28). (When verifiable, the addressee is the *strategus*.)

(4) *name τοπάρχης σεσημείωμαι πρόβατα κτλ.*: LV **3778** 37 (21), II **245** 23 (26), **351** = SB XII 10795.19

(28), XXXVIII **2850** 24 (29) (in LV **3779** 23 (20/21) ed. restores *cεcημείωμαι*, but *ἀναγέγρα(φα)* may also be considered). (When verifiable, the addressee is the *strategus*.)

(5) (i) *name* *ὁ παρὰ name στρατηγοῦ cεcημείωμαι*; (ii) *name* *ὁ παρὰ name βαcιλικοῦ γραμματέως cεcημείωμαι*: XXXVIII **2851** 21 ff. (60). (The declaration is also addressed *καὶ τοῖc γράφουcι τὸν Ὀξυρυγχίτην*.)

(6) (i) *name* *ὁ παρὰ name στρατηγοῦ cεcημείωμαι κτλ.*; (ii) *name* *ὁ παρὰ name βαcιλικοῦ γραμματέως cεcημείωμαι κτλ.*; (iii) *name* *ὁ παρὰ τῶν τὸν νομὸν γραφόντων*: II **246** = W. *Chr.* 247.28 ff. (66).

(7) (i) *name* *cτρατηγὸc διὰ name ὑπογραμματέως cεcημείωμαι κτλ.*; (ii) *name* *βαcιλικὸc γραμματεὺc διὰ name βοηθοῦ cεcημείωμαι κτλ*: P. Köln II 86 (98/9). (The declaration is also addressed *καὶ οἷc καθήκει*.)

As we see, the pattern of signatures in **4822** cannot be exactly parallelled from elsewhere. Apart from the different constructions, we are missing the signature of the toparch, whom we would expect to have signed the declaration.

13 *ἀ[ν]αγεγρα( )*: presumably *ἀ[ν]αγέγρα(φα)* (probably not *ἀ[ν]αγέγρα(φε)*; cf. the use of *cεcημείωμαι* in this context). It is less likely that the text was originally understood as *π]αρὰ Διογέ(νει) cτρα(τηγῷ) ἀ[ν]αγέγρα(πται)*; the construction is without parallel (the Arsinoite collocation, *ἀπεγράφηcαν παρὰ cτρατηγῷ/βαcιλικῷ γραμματεῖ*, is not exactly comparable), and we would have to assume that much space was left blank before it.

What was lost at the start of the line is unclear. It would be reasonable to expect a name followed by *ὁ π]αρά*, as in the examples cited above, 13–17 n., under (6)–(7), but the second signature displays a different pattern. See below, 16 n.

14 *Μεχ(εὶρ) ε*. In the early period, declarations of livestock were usually submitted in the last days of *Τῦβι* and the first days of *Μεχείρ*; see the list in Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 36–7.

15 *[κα]τεχώριcεν*. This verb is found in a comparable context only in two other declarations, neither of which is Oxyrhynchite: we find *κατακεχ(ώρικα)* (so P. Mich. XVIII 782.10 n.) or *κατακεχ(ώριcται)* (so Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 227 n. 515), followed by a date, in BGU XVI 2586.18 (Heracl.; 5 BC); and *κατακεχώ(ρικα/-cται) ἕξ* (*scil. πρόβατα*) in P. Mich. XVIII 782.10 (Ars.?; early I AD).

ὁ παρά. The putative omicron (suggested by Dr Coles) is vestigial, a tiny loop attached to the right-hand leg of nu of *[κα]τεχώριcεν*.

16 *ἀναγεγρα( )*. One is inclined to resolve the abbreviation in the same form as in 16, but the asyndeton *[κα]τεχώριcεν ὁ παρὰ . . . ἀναγέγρα(φα/-ε) πρόβα(τα) κτλ.* would be awkward.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4823. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

35 4B.70/G(1–2)a 6.3 × 3.5 cm 30 BC – AD 14

Only the middle part of the document has survived; it is of interest for its early date and for the fact that it is a collective declaration, which is not common. Two other Oxyrhynchite collective declarations of the reign of Augustus have been published, P. IFAO I 5 (8/7 BC) and P. Berl. Möller 7 (AD 8/9); cf. also the slightly later LV **3778** (21). P. Oxy. Hels. 8 (9 BC) could be part of a collective declaration, given the large number of sheep registered, but this is not necessary; see C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 43–4, and cf. BGU XVI 2586 (Heracl.; 5 BC). The number

of the declarants (at least four), as well as the probable absence of any indication that they were relatives (cf. e.g. LV **3779**), may suggest that they belonged to a corporation of *προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι*.

The back is blank.

. . . .
απο[*c.*17 ἀπο-
γραφόμεθα ε̣ἰ̣[c] τ̣[ὸ] ἐ̣ν̣[εστὸc *n* (ἔτοc)
Καίcαροc τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμεῖν
πρόβατα, τοῦ μὲν Παλᾶτοc δε-
κατρία, τοῦ δὲ Πετεήcιοc πρό-
βατα δεκαδύο, τοῦ δὲ Πετεcούχο(υ)
πρόβατα [δ]ε̣κατρία, αἶγαc τρεῖc,
το]ῦ̣ [δὲ *c.*3]....ο̣c πρόβατα εν-
*c.*16 πρόβ]ατα
. . . .

3 l. ἡμῖν 6 πετεcουχ°

'. . . we register for the present *n*th year of Caesar the sheep that belong to us: thirteen sheep of Palas, twelve sheep of Peteesis, thirteen sheep and three goats of Petesuehus, nine (or: eleven) sheep of . . . sheep . . .'

1 απο[. This is either the preposition or part of a name. If the former, this would belong to the indication of the *origo* of the declarant(s). There does not seem to be enough space for the name of a village (ἀπὸ [κώμηc *name*), followed by the name of the toparchy to which it belonged (abbreviated); there would be no problem if we had τῶν] | ἀπ' Ὀ[ξυρύγχων πόλεωc. In any case, the *origo* of the declarant is often omitted in Oxyrhynchite returns of early date; it is extant only in LV **3779** 6–7 (P. IFAO I 5 and P. Berl. Möller 7 are broken at the top).

4 Παλᾶτοc. On this name, see M. Chauveau, H. Cuvigny, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 184. This is its earliest attestation in the papyri, and only the third in an Oxyrhynchite document (P. Mich. XVIII 786.123 and XIX **2244** 73 are the other two). It is much commoner in the Fayum.

7 αἶγαc τρεῖc. For the advantages of the presence of even a few goats in a flock of sheep, see C. Baleoni, *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 121–2, and J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 26 (1989) 179–80.

8–9 εν[: ἐν[νέα or ἓν[δεκα.

9 The break probably took away a name (τοῦ δὲ + *name*).

R. HATZILAMBROU

4824. Supplementary Declaration of Goats

73/63(a) 6.8 × 17.8 cm 17 July 67

This declaration, addressed to Papiscus, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belongs to Avogadro's second chronological group (*Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 168–9; see

also C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 47–8), which runs from the end of the reign of Claudius (cf. II **297** of 54) until the end of the first century (the earliest example of the third group, P. Köln II 86, dates from 98/9). In this second group, two declarations were made each year, the first usually in Mecheir (middle of the year), the second in Epeiph (end of the year). The first was the 'main' declaration, and in it the adult animals and their kids were declared, while in the second, the 'supplementary', the young born after the first declaration had to be registered. Our evidence from this period is mostly Oxyrhynchite. There are three 'main' declarations: P. Köln IV 188 (after 44), P. IFAO I 21, P. Ross. Georg. II 13, (both of 54–68); and four 'supplementary': XXXVIII **2851** (60), II **246** = W. *Chr.* 247 (66), LXXI **4824** (67), **4825** (65–9). VI **962** descr. may also belong to this period (reign of Claudius or Nero?), but the text is unpublished. We do not know whether this dual system was in force in other regions of Egypt; from this period we have only one declaration that is not Oxyrhynchite, the Hermopolite P. Flor. III 374 (55/6 or later; see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 212 n. 6), which is a 'main' declaration, and follows a pattern familiar from Oxyrhynchite parallels.

It is unclear whether the papyrus is complete at the foot. If not, we would expect to find an official's subscription.

Παπίσκῳ στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀ[ξυρυγχ(ίτου)
παρὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ Σα-
ρ]απίωνος τοῦ Τρύφω-
νος μητρὸς Ἑρμιόνης τῆ[ς
Κεσζαρίου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων).
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ιγ (ἔτει) Νέρωνο[ς
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
ἀπεγραψάμην ἐπὶ τοῦ Παν-
γᾶ Εἰσίου τῆς ἄνω τ[ο]παρχίας
ἃς ἔχω αἶγας καὶ ἀπὸ γονῆς
τούτων ἐρίφους τέσσαρες,
οἷς προσεγένοντο εἰς τὴν
δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ἔρι-
φοι δύο. οὓς ἀπογραφόμε-
νος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
ὀμνύω Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον
Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικ(ὸν)
Αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν ἐψε(ῦσθαι).
(*m.* 2) *Στέφανος Σαραπίωνος*
τοῦ Τρύφωνος ὁμώμω-

κ̣α̣ τὸν ὅρκον. . . . .ν[ι]ς̣
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.
(ἔτους) ι̣γ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
Καί̣[c]αρος Cεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ̣
Αὐ]τοκράτορος, Ἐπεὶφ κ̄γ̄.

Back, downwards , along the fibres (m. 1?):
ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶ

1 στρ^{α} 5 l. Καισαρίου οξυρυγ^{χ} 6 Ḷ 9–10 l. Παγγᾶ Ἰσιείου 10 ε of εισιου corr. 11 αιγας̣: αι corr. from ερ 12 l. τέσσαρας 18 γερμανι̣κ (no abbreviation sign) 19 ε̣ψ^{ε} 24 L 27 l. ἐνεστῶτι

'To Papiscus, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite (nome), from Stephanus son of Sarapion, grandson of Tryphon, his mother being Hermione daughter of Caesarius, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In the present 13th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, I registered at Panga Isieion of the upper toparchy the goats in my possession and the four kids born from these, to which two kids were added for the second registration. These I register in the same village, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I have not lied at all.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Stephanus, son of Sarapion, son of Tryphon, have sworn the oath. I, . . . , wrote for my brother. Year 13 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 23.'

Back: (1st hand) 'In the present (*vac.*)'

1 *Παπίσκῳ στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀ̣[ξυρυγ(χίτου)*. Papiscus is attested in several papyri; see Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*^{2} 92; also **4825**. (He most probably does not occur in II **357** = SB XX 14095 ii 2; Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 224 n. 510, has already raised doubts over the reading of *ed. pr.*, and these doubts may be increased through study of the on-line image. [NG]) He was an Alexandrian and had served as *cosmetes* there (II **246** = W. *Chr.* 247.1, with D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 154 n. 6; cf. also I **44** = W. *Chr.* 275 = Scl. Pap. II 420.1 with BL IX 177). He had entered office by 65/6 (SB XII 11145); one year earlier, assuming that the identification holds, we find him as *strategus* of the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome (P. Tebt. II 298 = W. *Chr.* 90 of 64/5). **4824** offers the latest exactly dated record of Papiscus' tenure as *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. He may still have been in office in 68 or shortly thereafter; see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* ii 622–3 n. 1752, 1015–16 n. 265, on the date of I **44**. His nearest known successor is Tiberius Claudius Herodes, in office by 16 April 70 (XLIX **3508**), and perhaps as early as Dec. 69/Jan. 70 (LXVII **4527**). (The entry [*Πα*]*νίσκος* [. . . . .]*λας*, from I **44** 1, in Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*^{2} 94, is taken over from the first edition and should be deleted; the papyrus is correctly cited, with due reference to BL IX 177, on p. 92 under *Παπίσκος*.) See further **4825** 2–3 n.

στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀ̣[ξυρυγ(χίτου). Among other such returns in the 'second group', only P. Köln IV 188 (and VI **962** descr., if it belongs to this period) is addressed to the *strategus* alone, while II **246**, XXXVIII **2851** and P. IFAO I 21 refer also to the royal scribe and *τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νομόν* (in P. Ross. Georg. II 13 the address has not survived). On the officials addressed in the declarations of the 'second group', see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 222–3.

3–5 The names of the declarant's mother and her father are also given in II **246** 6–7, but such references are absent from other declarations of livestock.

5 *Κεζα̣ρί̣ου*, l. *Καισαρίου*. This is the earliest attestation in a papyrus of this uncommon name.

For the frequent interchange of αι and ε in Latin names and loanwords, and for c sporadically written as cζ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 192–3 and 124 respectively.

9–10 τ̣ο̣ῦ *Παγγᾶ Εἰσίου* (l. *Παγγᾶ Ἰσιείου*) τῆς ἄνω τ̣[ο]π̣α̣ρ̣χ̣ί̣α̣ς̣. On this village, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 69, 71–2; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iii 35, Suppl. i 159, ii 82, iii 55; LV **3804** introd.; another attestation probably in LXXI **4827** 8 (173/4). It usually occurs as *Ἰc(ι)εῖον Παγγᾶ*. The reversed order of the names, attested also in II **250** 5 (61), II **357** = SB XX 14095 ii 7–8 (I) and PSI VII 772.4 (I/II), appears to be an early feature.

18–20 According to E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht* i (München 1933) 64–5, 68, the oath formula is common but not compulsory in declarations of livestock. This may be qualified: the oath is attested in all declarations of the 'second group', but not in declarations of earlier date. We may thus assume that this formula was introduced during the first reform of the procedure, and became a standard feature thereafter. Livestock declarations from other nomes do not contain an oath formula, a possible exception being P. Bad. II 21 (117), of unknown provenance. On the oath in such documents, see also Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 44.

19 μηδὲν ἐ̣ψ̣ε(ῦcθαι). The last part of the oath formula in the parallel texts, where preserved, reads μηδὲν ὑ̣π̣ο̣ς̣τ̣αλέcθαι (P. Ross. Georg. II 13.10–11), μὴ ὑπεστά̣[λθ(αι) (II **246** 26), and μὴ ἐψ̣ε̣ῦ̣ς̣θαι (XXXVIII **2851** 19).

22 ....ν[ι]ς̣. Apparently not Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ῶ̣ν[ι]ς̣, though ω is possible; at the beginning, perhaps *Π*ε̣.

23 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. The ὑπογραφεύς was often a close relative; see H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 205–21 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 179–99, esp. pp. 219–21 = 197–9.

27 ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶ. The writing, probably by the first hand, ends abruptly.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4825. Supplementary Declaration of Sheep

34 4B.75/L(2)a 6.7 × 10.3 cm 65–69

Another supplementary declaration of livestock addressed to Papiscus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. **4824**. The text carries no date, but it will have been written in the month of Epeiph in one of the years in which Papiscus held, or may be presumed to have held, office. It breaks off at the point where the details of the second registration were to be given. The declarant, Mnesitheus son of Theon, is well known; see 4 n.

The back is blank.

(*m.* 2) Θ̣ώ̣λ̣θ̣ε(ως) .. ἄρ(νες) β

(*m.* 1) *Π̣α̣πίcκωι κοcμητεύcαντι τῆς*
π̣όλεως καὶ cτρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγ(χίτου)
π̣αρὰ Μνηcιθέου τοῦ Θέωνος
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.
ἀπεγραψάμην τῷ ἐνεc-
τῶτι ἔτει ἐπὶ κώμης
Θ̣ώλθεως τῆς κάτω τοπαρχ(ίας)
ἃ] ἔχω θρέμματα καὶ πρώ-

10 τηc] ἀ̣π̣ο̣γραφῆc ἄρναc
c.7 οἷc πρ]ο̣cεγέ-
ν- c.12]. .
. . .

1 $\bar{\alpha\rho}$ 3 οξυρυ$\bar{\gamma}$ 8 τοπαρ$^{\chi}$

(2nd hand) 'Tholthis . . . ; 2 lambs.'

(1st hand) 'To Papiscus, ex-*cosmetes* of the city and *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite (nome), from Mnesitheus son of Theon, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In the present year, I registered at the village of Tholthis of the lower toparchy the livestock I have and *n* lambs of the first registration, to which . . . added . . .'

1 On such dockets, see C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 41–2, and B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 302 i 1–2 n., with information also on Arsinoite declarations. These dockets, mostly added by a second hand, are present only in a minority of such declarations. We find various patterns (I refer to Oxyrhynchite texts only): name of village + total(s) of animals declared (LXXI **4825** 1, P. Köln IV 188.1); name of village (LV **3778** 1, P. NYU II 12.1); total(s) of animals declared (I **74** 1–2, P. Princ. II 24.1–2); a month (II **355** = SB XVI 12763.1); a number, probably a sequence number in an official composite roll (II **245** 1, **355** = SB XVI 12760.1, and perhaps P. Köln II 86.1; to judge from the on-line image, II **357** = SB XX 14095 ii 1 carries no such number; Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* i 224 n. 510, had already expressed reservations over the reading).

Balconi, loc. cit. 42, suggests that of the declarations addressed to a *strategus*, perhaps only those that carried a number in the sequence of the *tomos synkollesimos* were certainly destined for the authorities, while those with the numbers of sheep or goats or without annotations above the address could have been the copies made for the declarant. However, it is difficult to see the role of such annotations in copies meant to be kept by private individuals; they are surely more at home in a state archive.

Θώ̣λ̣θε(ωc) . . . The unread letters might represent κ̣ά̣(τω), but I cannot claim to be able to read this.

ἄρ(νεc) β. See 11–12 n.

2–3 Π̣α̣πίcκωι κοcμητεύcαντι τῆc π̣όλεωc καὶ cτρατηγῶ̣ Ὀξυρυγ(χίτου). On Papiscus, see **4824** 1 n. The address here is identical to that in II **246** = W. *Chr.* 247.1–2; cf. also I **44** = W. *Chr.* 275 = Scl. Pap. II 420.1 [κοcμητεύ]c̣ac (BL IX 177). That Papiscus is described as an ex-*cosmetes* indicates that he was an Alexandrian (πόλιc = Alexandria); see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 154 n. 6.

4 Μνηcιθέου τοῦ Θέωνοc. Mnesitheus son of Theon is recorded in Jones and Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* no. 2738, after XLI **2972** 3 and XLIV **3163** 6–7 (both of 72); two further references have accrued since, XLVII **3332** 4 (53) and XLIX **3464** 3 (*c.*54–60). 'In all four cases the inventory numbers are the same as far as 36 4B.92/H, which indicates that they were found together and are probably the remains of a small private archive' (XLIX **3464** introd. para. 2). Like the other four papyri, **4825** was unearthed in the fourth season at Bahnasa, but its inventory number suggests that it was not found in their immediate vicinity (it comes from excavation box no. 75, while the others come from no. 92).

6–7 τῷ̣ ἐνεcτῶτι ἔτει. Papiscus is attested as *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in 66–7, and could have been in office also in the summers of 65 and 68–9; see **4824** 1 n.

8 Θ̣ώλθεωc τῆc κάτω τοπαρχ(ίαc). Cf. 1. On this village see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 58–9; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* Suppl. ii 74, iii 51.

9–10 ἃ] ἔχω θρέμματα καὶ πρώ̣[τηc] ἀ̣π̣ο̣γραφῆc ἄρναc. This collocation is new, and the exact

purport of the genitive(s) is unclear. Does it mean 'and (considered to be part) of the first registration'? The other supplementary declarations of livestock attest the following constructions (dependent on *ἀπεγραψάμην*):

XXXVIII **2851** 11–12 (60)	*τῇ πρώτῃ ἀπογρα(φῇ) ἄρνας ἑπτά, ἐρίφο(υς) δύο*
II **246** 15–17 (66)	*ἀπὸ γ[ο]νῆς ὧν ἔχω θρεμμάτω[ν] ἄρνας δεκαδύο*
LXXI **4824** 11–12 (67)	*ἃς ἔχω αἶγας καὶ ἀπὸ γονῆς τούτων ἐρίφους τέσσαρες*

11–12 *πρ]οσεγέ[ν-*. Cf. II **297** 7–10 (54) *τί σοι προσεγένετο | ἀπὸ ἀρνέας παρὰ | τὴν πρώτην ἀπο|γραφήν*; XXXVIII **2851** 13–14 (60) *οἷς οὐδὲν προσγέγ[ο]|νεν*; LXXI **4824** 13 (67) *οἷς προσεγένοντο*; also II **246** 18–20 *τοὺς ἐπ[ιγε]|γονότας εἰς τὴν ἐνεστ[ῶσαν] | δευτέραν ἀπογραφήν*.

The docket in 1 refers to two lambs. This is either (i) the total number of lambs in the flock, or (ii) the lambs born after the previous registration. If (i), restore [*δύο, οἷς οὐδὲν πρ]οσεγέ|[νετο*, which would suit the space; if (ii), the text would run [*number οἷς πρ]οσεγέ|[νοντο* (. . .) *ἄρνες δύο*. That in **246** the total given in the body of the text is that of the lambs born subsequent to the first registration may offer tenuous support to (ii). (None of the other supplementary declarations contains a docket.)

N. GONIS

4826. Loan of Wheat

5 1B.33/J(d) 14 × 14.9 cm 168/9

Adrastion (a rare name; see 1 n.) from the village Philonicu in the Heracleopolite nome borrows nine artabas of wheat from Harpaesis, of unknown *origo* (see 3 n.), which he promises to return in Pauni after the harvest. The nature of the transaction is not entirely clear (see 8 n., 20 n.). The *praxis*-clause is unusual in having *πράσσοντι κυρίως* instead of the common *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης* (see 12 n.).

Adrastion apparently wrote the *cheirographon* himself, to judge from the hand and the absence of a subscription (see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* (München 1978) 165). Other *cheirographa* of contemporary date from Oxyrhynchus include P. Oslo II 40 (150), XXXIV **2722** (154), P. Oxy. Hels. 36 (167), III **507** 37 (169), XLIX **3493–4** (175), PSI XII 1253 (186), LXXI **4828** (195); from the Heracleopolite nome, P. Hib. II 277 (138–60), SB XIV 12180 = XXIV 16009 (186?), P. Vind. Sal. 6.6–26 (190; see BL X 282).

The writing is inelegant: large, separately formed capitals, with occasional confusions of individual letter shapes; cf. *αρπανι* (3), *συηρου* (7), and perhaps *αςταβας* (5). The dating formula at the end is written quicker and more fluently in smaller letters (probably not by a second hand), but it too makes a clumsy impression. The spelling shows common phonetic errors.

The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank.

Ἀδραστίων Ἀδραστ[*c.*18
ἀπὼ κώμης Φιλον[ίκου τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολί-
του Ἁρπανι Αμ[*c.*18
τος. ἐμετρήθην πα[ρὰ σοῦ *c.*12

πυροῦ ἀ̣ς̣τάβας σ̣υ̣[*c.*13 ἐννέ-
α τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνά̣[του] ἔτους Ἀ̣ντωνίνο̣[υ
καὶ Σ̣υ̣ήρο̣υ Καισάρω̣[ν] τ̣ῶν κυρίων μέτρῳ
τῷ σ̣ῷ ἄς καὶ παρ[α]δ̣ώσω σοι τῷ μ̣ηνὶ
Π̣αῦνι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἀνυπ̣ερθέτως
τ]ὰ̣ς ἀρτάβας θ̄, τῆς πράξεώς σ̣[ο]ι̣ οὔσης
ἔκ] τ̣' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχώντων μοι
πράσο̣ντι κυρίως. κ[ύ]ρ̣ιον τὸ χιρόγρα̣[φον παν-
ταχο̣ῦ ἐπιφερόμ̣ενον καὶ [παντὶ τῷ ἐπι-
φέροντι ὡς ἐν δημο̣σίῳ κ[ατακεχωρισ-
μένον. ἔτους ἐνάτου Α̣ὐτοκράτορο̣[ς Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Σ̣εβαστοῦ Ἀρμ̣ε̣ν̣ι̣[ακοῦ Μη-
δ̣ι̣κοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτο̣[κράτορος
Κ]α̣ί̣σ̣α̣[ρο]ς Λουκείου Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣η̣λίου Οὐήρου Σ̣ε̣[βαστοῦ
Ἀρμενι]ακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μ̣ε̣[γίστου
*c.*7]....

2 l. ἀπό 3 l. Ἁρπαήσει 5 πυρου: ρ corr. from τ l. ἀρτάβας 6 l. τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνάτῳ ἔτει or τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐνάτου ἔτους 7 l. Οὐήρου 8 l. μηνί; then line-filler 11 l. ὑπαρχόντων 12 l. πράσσοντι, χειρόγραφον 16 αρμ̣ε̣ν̣ι̣[corr. from what? 18 l. Λουκίου

'Adrastion, son of Adrast— . . . , from the village Philonicu of the Heracleopolite (nome), to Harpaesis, son of Am— . . . . I have had measured out to me (from you . . .) nine artabas of wheat (with interest?), in the present ninth year of Antoninus and Verus Caesars the lords, by your measure, which 9 artabas I shall deliver to you in the month Pauni of the same year without delay, with the right of execution upon me and my property resting with you, proceeding with authority. The *cheirographon* is binding presented everywhere and for everyone who presents it, as though publicly registered. Year ninth of Imperator Caesar Marcus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and of Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, . . .'

1 *Ἀδραστίων* is a rare name (*Ἄδραστος* is much more common). It occurs only in one other papyrus, P. Vind. Bosw. 2.14 (Antin.; 247/8). Outside Egypt, we find it in an inscription from Rome of the Imperial age (IGUR II 1003.3), and (twice) in an unpublished inscription from Caria of the second century AD (information kindly supplied by Professor Thomas Corsten, on the basis of material selected for the forthcoming LGPN V).

This line contained the father's name, *Ἀδραστ[ίωνος* or *Ἀδράστ[ου*, followed either by *μητρός* and the mother's name or some other information about Adrastion, e.g. profession.

2–3 *Φιλον[ίκου τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολί]του*. To date there has been no record of a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome bearing a name beginning with Philon— (or Philom—). The reference is probably to the village Philonicu in the Coite toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome (M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* (Atlanta 1998) 246–8). This toparchy bordered on the Lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and inhabitants from this area had frequent contacts with their Oxyrhynchite

neighbours (see Falivene, op. cit. 12. 116, and *Pap. Congr. XX* 208 n. 31; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 15 n. 37).

3 After the father's name *Αμ*[-, probably *μητρός* and the mother's name ending in *-τος* in the next line. If so, there would be no space for the lender's *origo*. He may but need not have been an Oxyrhynchite (for inter-nome loans, see R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 140 n. 158, 75 n. 185).

4 *ἐμετρήθην πα*[*ρὰ σοῦ*. *ἐμετρήθην* is rare in the papyri; in the DDbDP it comes up in SB VI 9248 = ChLA XVIII 662.11 (II), a receipt for wheat supplied to a cavalry soldier; P. Corn. 44.4 (209), a receipt for rent in kind; and P. Cair. Isid. 31.5 (276), a granary receipt for tax.

The end of the line probably contained some additional information (purpose, manner, location?) connected with the receipt of the wheat, e.g. *δάνειον*, *εἰς ἰδίαν χρείαν*, *εἰς σπέρμα*, *ἐν παραθέσει*.

5 *ἀςτάβας*, l. *ἀρτάβας*. This is an odd error, given that the word is spelled correctly in 10. But one might wish to take a thickening at the cap of the putative sigma as an attempt to form the top (circlet) of rho.

συ[. Of the upsilon only the top half of the left diagonal is left, but *ἐννέα*, expected from 10. is certainly not to be read. It must come at the end of the line. *συ*[suggests *σὺ*[*ν διαφόρῳ*, *ἡμιολίᾳ* or the like, 'with interest'; cf. N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 127 n. 8, 128 n. 11.

6 *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνά*[*του*] *ἔτους*. Read (i) *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνάτῳ ἔτει* or (ii) *τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐνάτου ἔτους*. If (i), this must be a reference to the date when the loan was made, the writer switching into the familiar genitive as if in a syntactically independent dating formula. But it would be unusual to have the date of the transaction specified at this point. If (ii), we would have to connect the genitives, i.e., the year, with *πυροῦ* in 5 (cf. e.g. P. Strasb. I 54.5 ff. *πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος ἑκκαιδεκάτου ἔτους - - - πυροῦ* [*ἀ*]*ρτάβας*), but this should have been 'year 8', since the present year's crop has not been harvested yet.

7–8 *μέτρῳ τῷ σῷ*. The collocation occurs six times in the DDbDP, all in documents of the Byzantine period. The measure is often specified in order to guarantee the correct quantity when the grain is returned; see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* (München 1967) 11.

8 *παρ*[*α*]*δώσω*. This compound usually refers to the return of goods in a deposit or lease: cow, boat, house, etc. (Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 3); for wheat in deposit, see P. Strasb. I 54.11–12 (153/4), XLII **3049** A12 = B15 (247). In loans, *ἀποδώσω* is the regular verb. *παραδώσω* is used in XLIX **3493** 6, 21 = **3494** 7, 27 (175), but these two loans of wheat are suspected by the editor to hide 'some surreptitious deal' (introd.).

μηνί, l. *μηνί*. For the gemination of medial nu, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 158.

12 *πρᾶς*⟨*ς*⟩*ουτι κυρίως*. The position of the phrase immediately after *μοι* invites ambiguity, but knowledge of the formula must have deterred misunderstanding.

The same phrase occurs in P. Dura 20.18 (121), 22.11 (133/4) (both have *ἐκπράσσοντι*), P. Babatha 11.11 (124), and perhaps P. Murabba'ât 114 = SB X 10304.21 (171?). N. Lewis notes that *κυρίως* in this position is found only once among Egyptian papyri (P. Hamb. I 2 of 59), where 'it is doubtless significant that the transaction involves three Jews and a soldier' (P. Babatha 11.9–11 n.). In papyri from the Near East, *κυρίως* is also added to two other components of the *praxis*-clause—for emphasis, one assumes: representation, in P. Dura 29.12–13 (251) *καὶ ἄλλῳ παντὶ τῷ | ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κυρίως τὴν ὁμολογείαν ταύτην π*[*ρ*]*οφερομένῳ*; and ownership, in P. Babatha 17.36–8 (128) *ἀπό τε Ἰούδου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρ|χόντων αὐτοῦ πάντῃ πάντων, ὧν τε ἔχει καὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπικτή|σηται κυρίως*.

The existence of a deed allowed the creditor to start proceedings against the debtor immediately on default without having to obtain a judicial judgement first. The usual *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης* is seldom omitted from the *praxis*-clause, but its absence did not seem to affect the way the *praxis* was carried out; see Wolff, *Pap. Congr. XII* 531. *πράσσοντι κυρίως* is found in addition to the usual *καθάπερ*

ἐκ δίκης (i.e., πράσσοντι κυρίως καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης) in two loans from the Arsinoite nome, P. Mert. I 6.28 (77 BC) and BGU XI 2116.10 = ChLA XI 465 (25/6). If this phrase imparts a particular force to the *praxis*-clause, it emphasizes the fact that the creditor is authorized to proceed.

12–13 παν]ταχοῦ. Although πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον is much more common in this period (cf. **4828** ii 23), πανταχοῦ seems to be the reading of the papyrus. For the distribution of the two words, see B. E. Nielsen, *BASP* 27 (1990) 100.

16 Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου. The absence of Αὐρηλίου must be a mistake; cf. O. Bodl. II 1478.1 (169?).

20]. . . . . Traces of uncertain distribution and interpretation:]ωμη?]. ομη?]. ομαι? Month and day are expected at this point; we have considered reading [*month* ἐβ]δόμῃ, but δ is difficult.

J. YUAN

4827. Lease of Land

5 1B.38/J(n) 7 × 27.8 cm 173/4
Plate XI

This text, complete except for the line ends, is a four-year lease of ten aruras of land classified as 'royal' and something else; see below, 7–8 n. The lease includes the usual crop rotation: the rent is payable in kind (30.5 artabas of wheat per year) for the two years in which the land is sown with wheat, and in cash (200 drachmas per year) for the two years in which it is sown with fodder crops; see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 240–43. The lessor is Phanias son of Sarapion, a former *archiereus* of the temple of Hadrian; see further 1–2 n. The lessee is an Alexandrian, which is uncommon.

The lease was drawn up as a 'private protocol', standard in Oxyrhynchite leases of this period. For the latest update on land leases from this area, see LXIX **4739** introd.

The back is blank.

ἐμίσθωσεν Φαν[ί]ας Σαρα[πίωνος τοῦ
Φανίου ἀρχιερατεύσας το[ῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγ-
χων πόλει Ἀδριανείου διὰ Σ[αραπίωνος
υἱοῦ Σαραπίωνι Σαραπίων[ος Σωσικος-
μείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθαιεῖ εἰς ἔτη τ[έσσαρα ἀπὸ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τεσσαρα[σκαιδεκάτου
ἔτους τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ἥμισυ μ[έρος c.7
γῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς περὶ [τὸ Ἰσεῖον Παγγᾶ
ἐκ τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ Ἡρα[κλείδου κλή-
ρου ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι, αἵ εἰσιν [c.10
μέρους ἄρουραι δέκα, ὥστε [τῷ μὲν τεσ-
σαρασκαιδεκάτῳ καὶ ἑκκαι[δεκάτῳ

ἔτεσι σπεῖραι πυρῷ, ἀποτάκ̣[του κατ' ἔ-
τος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τριά[κοντα ἡμί-
σους, τῷ δὲ πεντεκαιδ[εκάτῳ καὶ ἑπτα-
καιδεκάτῳ ἔτ̣ει ξυλα[μῆσαι χλω-
ρο̣ῖς ἀπ[ο]τ̣άκτου κ̣[α]τ̣' ἔτο[ς ἀργυρίου δρα-
χμῶν διακοσίων, ἀκιν[δύνων πάντων
παντὸς κινδύνου, τῆς [*c.*8
ως τῶν ἀρουρῶν οὔσης [πρὸς τὸν με-
μισθωμένον. ἐὰν δέ τις ἄ̣[βροχος γέ-
νηται, παραδεχθήσεται τ̣[ῷ μεμισθω-
μένῳ, τῶν τῆς γῆς κα[τ' ἔτος δη-
μοσίων ὄντων πρὸ̣ς τ̣[ὸ]ν Φ̣[ανίαν, ὃν καὶ
κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶ[ν ἕως ἂν τὰ ὀφει-
λόμενα κ̣ο̣μίσηται. β̣[εβαιουμένης
δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως τ̣[ῆς ἐν πυρῷ
διετίας πυρὸν μετρείτ[ω ὁ μεμισ-
θωμένος εἰς δημόσιον̣ [θησαυρὸν
τ̣αῖς ἑαυτοῦ δαπάναις κ̣[αὶ θέμα
καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων [ἀναδότω
τῷ μεμισθωκότι ὑπὸ τ̣[ὴν πρώτην
μέτρησιν, τὸν δὲ . .ς̣α[*c.*6 ἀρ-
γυρικὸν φόρον ἀποδότ[ω ὁ μεμισθωμένος(?)
χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως καὶ ἡ̣ [πρᾶξις ἔσ-
τω ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐ̣[κ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων αὐτῷ̣ πάντ[ων. κυρία ἡ μίσ-
θωσις. (ἔτους) ιδ Αὐτοκράτο[ρος Καίσα-
ρος Μ]ά̣[ρκου] Α̣ὐρηλίου Ἀντ[ωνίνου
Σεβαστ]ο̣ῦ Ἀρμενιακο[ῦ Μηδικοῦ
Παρθικοῦ] Γ̣ε[ρ]μανικοῦ̣ [μεγίστου
*c.*7] Φανίας Σ̣α̣[ραπίω-
νος τοῦ Φ]α̣νίου διὰ Σ[αραπίω-
νος υἱοῦ].....[

4 ϋιου 6 l. τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου 8 κα̣ι corr. from βασι? 11–12 l. τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ 26 κ̣ομισηται: ο̣ written over μ 32 ϋπο 35 ϋπ- 38 L

'Phanias son of Sarapion, grandson of Phanias, former chief priest of the temple of Hadrian in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, has leased through his son Sarapion to Sarapion son of Sarapion, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althaean deme, for four years from the present fourteenth year, his half

share of . . . and royal land at Isieum Panga from the allotment of Theophilus and Heracleides out of twenty aruras, which are ten aruras . . . side(?), on condition that in the fourteenth and sixteenth years he sow with wheat at an annual fixed rent of thirty and a half artabas of wheat, and that in the fifteenth and seventeenth years he plant with fodder crops at an annual fixed rent of two-hundred drachmas of silver, all free of every risk, the (guarding?) of the aruras being the responsibility of the lessee. And if any land is uninundated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, the annual public taxes on the land being the responsibility of Phanias, who is also to retain control of the crops until he receives the annual dues. And the lease being confirmed, for the two years in which the land is sown with wheat the lessee shall measure the wheat into the public granary at his own expense, and an acknowledgement of payment free of all charges shall be issued to the lessor at the first measuring (of each year); and the lessee(?) shall pay the . . . money rent without delay. And the right of execution should rest against both the lessee and all his property. The lease is binding. Year 14 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, (month, day). I, Phanias son of Sarapion, grandson of Phanias, through my son Sarapion . . .'

1–2 *Φαν[ί]ας Σαρ̣α̣[πίωνος τοῦ] Φανίου ἀρχιερατεύσας.* A Phanias, ex-*archiereus*, is mentioned as an overseer of the bank at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus in VIII **1132** 9–10 (after 162). He may have been related to a family of wealthy Oxyrhynchites, a member of which was Sarapion alias Phanias, sometime *strategus* of Arabia; see R. A. Coles, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108–10.

3 *Ἁδρ̣ιανείου.* Mentions of the *Ἁδριανεῖον* of Oxyrhynchus occur in papyri of the late second and early third centuries usually in connection with former chief priests. This lease offers the earliest reference to the temple, mentioned again in LXXI **4828** (195), which attests Theon son of Theon, ex-*archiereus*. Two ex-*archiereis* of this temple, another(?) Theon (see **4828** 3–4 n.) and Chaeremon, were chosen as representatives of the *strategus* for the opening of a will in 185 (P. Merton II 75.1; for the date see BL VI 78; also U. Yiftach, *BASP* 39 (2002) 162). The latest mention to date of an ex-*archiereus* of the Hadrianeum is in VIII **1113** 3–6 of 203.

The Hadriancum is mentioned again in a list of dues of *c.*205 (VII **1045** 27); all later instances come from the fourth century. By that time it was no longer an active cult centre, as the change in the epithet from *σεβασμιώτατον* to *δημόσιον* indicates. XVII **2154** 14–15 tells us that it was used as a prison. Doorkeepers of the building (warders?) are mentioned in XLV **3249** 12 (326), LIV **3764** 14 (*c.*326), and P. Harris I 65.8–9 (342). Several texts show that hearings before the *curator civitatis* could take place in the Hadrianeum: LIV **3758** 134 (325), **3767** 1 (329 or 330), P. Harris I 160 = SB XVI 12629.2 (*c.*329–31) (in **3764** 14, we have proceedings before an arbitrator). Apparently the *λογιστήριον*, which is also known to be the site of a prison, 'formed part of the premises of the Hadrianeum in Oxyrhynchus'; see L **3576** 18–19 n. A list of buildings needing repairs dating from 316 (LXIV **4441** vi 12) informs us about its state of preservation.

On the cult of Hadrian in Oxyrhynchus see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3067. For other temples of Hadrian in Egypt see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* (Milano 1974) 61–3, and D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 100 n. 12 (corrections in LXIV **4441** vi 12 n.).

Σ[αραπίωνος. To be sure, there are many names starting with sigma, but given that this person's father is 'Phanias son of Sarapion, grandson of Phanias', it is likely that the son took the name of his (paternal) grandfather. III **533** 26 (II/III), *Σαραπίωνος Φανίου*, need not refer to the same person.

4–5 *Σωσικος]μείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθαιεῖ.* The lessee was an Alexandrian citizen: *Σωσικόσμειος* and *Ἀλθαιεύς* indicate phyle and deme respectively; see D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta 1991) 138–40. It is unusual to find an Alexandrian lessee in Oxyrhynchus. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, mentions only one such case, in III **593** = SB XII 10780 (172/3), likewise a four-year lease but of only two aruras and at much higher rent. This is all the more surprising since

'longer lease-terms . . . do seem to be associated with tenants of lower status' (p. 257). Our man may be an entrepreneur (who sub-leased the land in turn) rather than a direct farmer.

5 *εἰς ἔτη τ̣[έσσαρα*. Four-year leases are very common in this period, and in fact multi-year leases predominate in the second to mid third centuries; see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* Table 17, p. 327; 253–4. Crop rotation and long-term leases are directly correlated; see Rowlandson, op. cit. 255. Oxyrhynchite land leases directly comparable to the crop rotation of this lease (one crop in years 1 and 3, and another in years 2 and 4) are PSI IV 315 (136/7), XXXIII **2676** (151) ('royal' land), VI **910** (197), L **3589** (II); cf. also BGU IV 1017 (mid II).

7–8 *μ̣[έρος c.7] χῆς καὶ̣ βασιλικῆς̣*. The plot under lease was made up of land of two different tenurial ctaegories: one whose name is lost in the break at the end of 7, and royal land. The former might have been another category of public land, which the lessor might have subleased from the state. But it is more likely that this was private land (*ἰδιωτική*), to which some royal land was attached. There is only one parallel among Oxyrhynchite land leases, PSI IX 1029 (52/3); see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 89. In our text, there is no need to assume 'an epibole-like assignment'; 'in documents of later periods, individuals are frequently found holding small quantities of public land as well as larger quantities of private land' (Rowlandson, op. cit. 90, with n. 57).

8 *περὶ [τὸ Ἰσεῖον Παγγᾶ*. The name of the village is restored on the basis of the *kleros* in 9–10, known to have been located in its area. On this village, see above, **4824** 9–10 n.

9–10 *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ Ἡρ̣α̣[κλείδου κλή]ρου*. This *κλῆρος* also occurs in XII **1502**v 1–2 (*c.*260/61), in connection with Is(i)eion Panga; see Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 182. For allotments with two names see F. Zucker in *Festschrift Oertel* (Bonn 1964) 105.

10–11 *αἳ εἰσιν̣ [c.10] μέρους. αἳ* refer to the 'half share' of the twenty aruras; cf. e.g. BGU VI 1264.12 (215/214 BC). The break may have taken away a prepositional construction that specified the location of the land to be leased, e. g. *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου/βορρᾶ/λιβὸς μέρους* (*ἀπηλιώτου* would be too long). Cf. the description of the land under lease in XLIX **3489** 10–11 (72), which is another lease of a part of a larger plot of land: *ἀπὸ ἀ̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣ρ̣ῶν ἐννε̣[έ]α ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρου[ς] | ἀρούρα̣[ς π]έ̣ντε*; similarly P. Mil. Vogl. II 78.8–9 (Ars.; 138/9), P. Hamb. I 65 = SB XVIII 13995.15–24 (Ars.; 141/2), IV **728** 7–8 (142), SB VIII 9918.4–6 (Oxy.; 180). Alternatively, *μέρους* may refer to the lessor's 'half share', as in 7, but we do not see how to fill the break.

14–15, 17–18 On Oxyrhynchite rent levels, see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 247 ff. The rent in kind due for the 10 aruras, *c.*3 art./ar., is very low, virtually the same as, if not lower than, the dues for public land; see Rowlandson's Fig. 4 (p. 249). But the 20 dr./ar. presupposed for the fodder rent is normal; see Rowlandson's Fig. 5 (p. 250). But 'after the first century AD. . . leases which charged the lowest rents were precisely those in which the tenant was obliged to pay a cash rental on his fodder crop' (Rowlandson, op. cit. 251).

17 *ἀπ[ο]τ̣άκτου*. On the term, see LXVII **4594** 8–9 n. Here it is used both for the rent in kind as well as the money rent, without those being specified as *ἐκφόριον* and *φόρος*. For *ἀποτάκτου* = *ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου*, cf. I **101** 54 (142), L **3589** 6, 7 (II); there is no such example for *φόρος*. (In BGU IV 1017.9 restore *ἐκφορίου] ἀποτάκτου*, not *φόρου] ἀ*. [NG].)

17–18 *ἀργυρίου δρα]χμῶν*. The line would be too short without *ἀργυρίου* (cf. IV **729** 31) but rather long with it (cf. XXXI **2584** 13).

19–20 It is unclear what is lost at the end of the line. We have considered restoring *τῆς [δὲ τηρήσε]ως*; cf. XLIX **3488** 27–30 (70) *τῆς κατ' ἔτος | ἀπεργασίας τῶν χωμάτων τῶν | δέκα ἀρουρῶν καὶ τηρήσεως ὄντων | πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον*, but in that text *τηρήσεως* refers to the dikes and not the aruras. (A clause referring to the lessee's responsibility for the *ἀπεργασία χωμάτων* and the *ὑδροφυλακία* occurs at this point in L **3589** 10–11 (II).)

21–3 On the *ἄβροχος* clause see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri* (München 1958) 161. For four-year leases with this clause, see T. T. Renner, *BASP* 7 (1970) 24 n. 5.

24 *πρὸς τ̣[ὸ]ν Φ[ανίαν*. We mostly find *πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωκότα*; for the construction here, cf. XLIX **3488** 37 (70), XXXVIII **2874** 21 (108), P. Turner 25.25–6 (161), etc.

24–5 *ὃν καὶ] κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶ[ν*. On this clause, see Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 140–42; A. Kränzlein, *Pap. Congr. XIII* (München 1974) 215ff., and *ZPE* 113 (1996) 230–32.

25–6 *ἕως ἂν τὰ ὀφει]λόμενα κ̣ομίσηται*. Cf. SB VI 9918.16 (179/80). The usual expression is *ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμενα κομίσηται*, but there is not enough room for *κατ' ἔτος* in the break.

27–8 *τ̣[ῆς ἐν πυρῷ] διετίας*. Restored after VI **910** 51 (197). *τ̣[ῆς τοῦ πυροῦ]*, after XVIII **2188** 20 (107), is also conceivable but less likely.

27–35 It is remarkable that there is no reference to when the rents will have to be paid, though see 34 n.

28–30 The provision for the tenant to deliver the rent in kind to the public granary 'at his own expense' is not common; see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 226 n. 68. Usually rent was paid on the threshing floor of a near-by village. Here this may be due to the fact that the land leased is partly 'royal' (e.g., it was convenient for the lessor to receive his rent at the granary so as to pay directly the dues on the public land), though such a provision was not always connected to sublet public land. Rowlandson, op. cit. 274, suggests that the lessor may sometimes have considered it convenient for the rent to be directly deposited into his account at the public granary.

30 *τ̣αῖς. ἰ]δ̣ίαις* , which is more common, does not seem to be a possible reading.

κ̣[αὶ θέμα. Cf. SB XIV 11281.20–21 (172), LV **3800** 30 (219), P. Ups. Frid. 5 i 14 (261). There is not enough space to restore *τούτων* after *θέμα*, as in SB XII 11081 = LXVII **4595** 34 (261).

30–33 On the clause referring to a *θέμα* see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 197–8. (The translation of LXVII **4595** 33–4 presupposes a somewhat different interpretation.)

32–3 *ὑπὸ τ̣[ὴν πρώτην] μέτρησιν*. Cf. I **101** 33 (142), SB XIV 11281.21–2 (172), LV **3800** 31 (219), P. Ups. Frid 5 i 16–17 (261). Other documents specify that this 'first measurement' is to be of 'each' (*ἑκάστου*; L **3591** 39 (219), LXVII **4595** 32 (261)) or of the 'present' (*ἐνεστῶτος*; XXXVI **2795** 23–4 (250)) year.

33–4 *τὸν δὲ . . ς̣α[c.6 ἀρ]γυρικὸν φόρον*. Parallel documents are of no help in restoring the damaged part (*ς̣υ̣γ̣α[γόμενον* is not a possible reading).

34 *ἀποδότ[ω ὁ μεμισθωμένος*(?). The restored *ὁ μεμισθωμένος* is well parallelled but is long for the space. However, this element is missing from LV **3800** 32–4 (200) *καὶ ἀποδό|τω τὸν κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρικὸν φόρο(ν) | μηνὶ Παῦνι*; cf. also BGU XIII 2340.16–17 (Oxy.; III). We could have a reference to when the rent is paid, a reference not supplied elsewhere in the text.

42 The name of the month is lost. According to Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 96, it was common practice in the Oxyrhynchite nome to draw up leases in the first four months of the Egyptian year (Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choeac); see also Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 218–19 and n. 45. Of these four months, the name of Thoth is too short to restore in the break.

44 We expect *μεμίσθωκα ὡς πρόκειται* at this point, but no part of it can be confirmed on the traces.

P. M. PINTO

4828. Loan of Money

22 3B.11/D(22–24)a 10.5 × 12.5 cm 27 March – 25 April 195

The contract was written in duplicate by the same clerk, one column for each copy (for a catalogue of duplicate papyri, many of which are loans, see B. E. Nielsen, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 187–214). The first column has lost the line-beginnings, while of the

second we have virtually full line-length; a few lines are lost from the foot. The two texts are identical apart from some different line divisions. Cf. **4829**.

The loan is drawn up in the form of a *cheirographon*, common at Oxyrhynchus. The sum borrowed is 220 drachmas, at the regular interest of 1% per month; the term is seven months. The borrower, whose name is not preserved, originates from an Oxyrhynchite hamlet. The lender, Theon son of Theon, is a former *archiereus* of the temple of Hadrian.

The writing runs along the fibres; the back is blank.

col. i

*c.*7 Στεφάν]ου μητρὸς Θα-
ήσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Μ]ονίμου ἐποικί-
ου Θέωνι Θέωνο]ς ἀρχιερατεύσαν-
τι τῆς Ὀξυρυγχε]ιτῶν π[ό]λεως
5 σεβασμιωτάτου Ἁ]δριανε[ί]ου χαί-
ρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔ]χειν π[α]ρὰ σοῦ
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκ]ου ς[ου ἀ]ργυρίου
Σεβαστοῦ] νομίσματο[ς] δραχμὰς
διακο]σίας εἴκοσι κ[εφ]αλαίου
10 τόκου δ]ραχμιαίου ἑκ[ά]στης
μνᾶς το]ῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου
ἀπὸ τοῦ] ὄντος μην[ὸ]ς Φαρ-
μοῦθι] τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[το]ς γ (ἔτους),
ἃς ἀποδ]ώσω σοι τῇ τριακάδι
15 τοῦ μηνὸς] Φαῶφι τοῦ ἰσιόντος
δ (ἔτους) χωρ]ὶς πάσης ὑπε[ρ]θέσε-
ως. ἐὰν] δὲ μ[ὴ ἀ]ποδῷ [τῇ] δη-
λουμέν]ῃ προθε[σμίᾳ] ἐκτεί-
σω σοι τα]ύτας μεθ' ἡμ[ι]ωλίας
20 καὶ τόκον] τ[οῦ ὑπερπε[σ]όντος
χρόνου, τ]ῆς πράξεώς σου
γεινομέν]ης ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ]χόν[των] μοι πάν-
. . . .
25

col. ii

.[...].ος Στεφάνου μητρὸς Θ[α]ήσιος
ἀπὸ τοῦ Μονίμου ἐποικίου Θέω-
νι Θέωνος ἀρχιερατεύσαντι
τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως
σεβασμιωτάτῳ Ἁδριανείου
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου
Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς
διακοσίας εἴκοσι κεφαλαίου τόκου
δραχμιαίου ἑκάστης μνᾶς τοῦ
μηνὸς ἑκάστου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μη-
νὸς Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος [γ] (ἔτους),
ἃς ἀπ[ο]δώσω σοι τῇ [τρια]κάδι μ[η-
νὸς Φαῶφι τοῦ ἰσιόντος δ (ἔτους) χωρὶς
πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀ-
ποδῷ τῇ δηλουμένῃ προθεσ-
μίᾳ ἐκτείς[ω] σοι ταύτας μεθ' ἡ-
μιωλίας καὶ τόκον τοῦ ὑ[π]ερπε-
σ]όντος χρόνου, τῆς πρ[άξε]ώς
σου γεινομένης ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ
ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάν-
των καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ
γ]ράμμ[α] δι̣σὸν γραφὲν πανταχῇ
ἐπιφερ[όμ]ενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπ[ὲ]ρ
σο]ῦ ἐπιφέροντι. ἔτους τρίτου
Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσ̣α̣[ρ]ος
Λου]κίου [Σεπτ]ιμίου [Σεου]ήρου
. . . .

ii 4 l. *Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν* 5 l. *cεβαcμιωτάτου* 12, 14 ʃ 14 l. *εἰcιόντοc* 17–18 l. *ἡμιολίαc* 20 l. *γινομένηc* 23 l. *διccόν*

(col.ii) '. . . son of Stephanus, mother Thaesis, from the village Monimu, to Theon son of Theon, ex-chief-priest of the most august temple of Hadrian of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you, from hand to hand out of your house, two hundred and twenty drachmas of imperial silver coinage as capital, at the interest of one drachma for each mina for each month, from the present month of Pharmuthi of the current 3rd year. These I shall repay you on the thirtieth of the month of Phaophi of the coming 4th year without any delay. If I do not repay you at the appointed time, I shall forfeit these to you with the addition of one half and interest for the period overdue, you having the right of execution against me and against all my property as one does when bringing a *dike*. This contract, written in duplicate, is binding wherever it may be produced and for whoever produces it on your behalf. Year third of Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus . . .'

ii 2 *ἀπὸ τοῦ Μονίμου ἐποικίου*. This settlement was situated in the north-east of the Upper toparchy, near the village of Sco (see P. Oxy. Hels. 41.7). See Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* 107; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iii 293–4; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 11.

2–3 *Θέωνι Θέωνοc*. This person most probably recurs in XLV **3251** 2–5 *θε*.[..].*εω*.[.. *ἀ*]*πὸ Ὀ*|*ξυρ*[*ύ*]*γχων πόλεως ἀρχιερατεύcαν*[*τ*]*ι* | *τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει cεβαcμιωτάτου* | *Ἁδριανείου*; the editor tentatively read *Θέω*[*νι*] *Θέων*[*οc*, which now seems to be confirmed. A further implication is that we may date **3251** to 202/3, and exclude the other possible dates mentioned in introd. P. Merton II 75.1 (Oxy.; 185; see BL VI 78), which attests one Theon, ex-*archiereus*, may refer to this same person.

In **3251** 2, before the putative *Θέω*[*νι*], one may read -]*λίτου ν*[*ο*]*μ*[*ο*]*ῦ* (. . . . .].*του* . . . . *ed. pr.*) (NG). This text is an acknowledgement of debt, 'incurred through arrears of farm rents', and 'in effect a deed of loan in kind and money'. **4828**, which attests Theon lending money to a resident of an Oxyrhynchite hamlet, moves in the same world. It should also be noted that the inventory number of **4828** is fairly close to that of **3251** (22 3B.14/G(7–10)b; they come respectively from the 11th and 14th tin-boxes filled with papyri in Grenfell and Hunt's third excavation season at Oxyrhynchus), which may imply proximity in the rubbish mound where they were found. (In view of the location of the village Monimu, in the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in **3251** 2 perhaps restore *Ἑρμοπο*]*λίτου ν*[*ο*]*μ*[*ο*]*ῦ*).

3–5 *ἀρχιερατεύcαντι τῆc Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεωc cεβαcμιωτάτω Ἁδριανείου*. The omission of *τοῦ* after *ἀρχιερατεύcαντι* is probably a scribal blunder (cf. **4827** 2–3 and **3251** 3–5, cited above).

5 *Ἁδριανείου*. Cf. **4827** 3 n.

19–20 *τῆc πρ*[*άξε*]*ώc cου*. We would expect the dative *coι*. The genitive is also attested in II **319** = SB X 10238.16 (37), II **269** i 10 (57), O. Brux. 13.10 (II), XII **1474** 18 (216), PSI VI 702.10 (III), P. Bad. II 27.8 (316), P. Gen. I^2 12.18 (383).

P. M. PINTO

4829. Acknowledgement of Indebtedness

16 2B.47/F(d)a 9.3 × 13.6 cm Late third century

Aurelius Dionysius, gymnasiarch and *bouleutes* of Oxyrhynchus, acknowledges that he owes four hundred drachmas to Aurelius Seuthes. The nature of the

original transaction (see 11–12) that lies behind Dionysius' financial obligation is not known.

The text was written by the same scribe in duplicate, each copy occupying a single column, with both copies remaining attached to each other. The texts of the two columns are essentially identical; only line divisions do not always correspond. Cf. **4828**.

The lines of the second column overrun a vertical repair-strip of papyrus *c.*1.5 cm wide. The patch is of lighter colour, and the writing does not run smoothly across its vertical fibres, and now appears badly abraded. The sheet was folded vertically down the centre. The back is blank.

col. i

Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος γυ-
μνασίαρχο[ς βο]υλευτὴς
τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξ[υρ]υγχειτῶν πό-
λεως υἱὸς Σαραπίωνος Διο-
νυσίου γυμν(ασιαρχήσαντος) πρυτανεύ-
σαντος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
Αὐρηλίῳ Σεύθῃ Ὡρείω-
νος μητρὸς Ἀννίδος ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρει(ν).
ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν σοι ⟦α⟧
τὰς φανείσας ἐν ἐμοὶ
[ἐκ] λόγου συνάρσεως ἀρ-
γυρίου Σεβασ̣τ̣[ο]ῦ νομίσμα-
τος δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας
κεφαλαίου, ὧν τάξομαι
σ̣υ̣[.].[.]. . . . . μια[. .].[
. . . . .[. .]. . .τ̣οῦ μ[ηνὸς
ἑκάσ̣τ̣ο[υ] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντ[ος μηνὸς
Χοι[ὰ]κ τ̣[ο]ῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος
.[*c.*10].απ̣ο̣[
.[*c.*11].ντο.[
.[*c.*11]α̣θα̣[
. . .

col. ii

Αὐρήλιος Δ̣[ιονύσιος γυ-
μνασ̣ίαρχ[ος βουλευτὴς
τῆς λαμπρᾶ̣[ς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν
πόλεως υἱὸ̣[ς Σαραπίωνος
Διονυσίου [γυμν(ασιαρχήσαντος) πρυτα-
νε̣ύσ̣α̣ντος [τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
Αὐρηλίῳ [Σεύθῃ Ὡρείω-
νος μητρ̣[ὸς Ἀννίδος ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆ̣[ς πόλεως χαίρει(ν).
ὁμ̣ο̣λ̣ογῶ [ὀφείλειν σοι
τὰς φανείς̣[ας ἐν ἐμοὶ
ἐκ λόγου σ̣[υνάρσεως ἀρ-
γυρ̣ίου Σεβασ̣[τοῦ νομίσμα-
τ̣ος δ̣ρ̣α̣χμὰ̣ς τ̣ε̣[τρακοσίας
. . .

i 3 l. Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν 4 υἱος 5 γυμνʃ 7–8 l. Ὡρίωνος 9 χαιρεῖ 19 χ corr. from round letter

(col. i) 'I, Aurelius Dionysius, gymnasiarch, *bouleutes* of the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Sarapion, grandson of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-*prytanis* of the same city, to Aurelius Seuthes son of Horion, mother Annis, from the same city, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe you four hundred silver drachmas of imperial silver coinage as capital, which have been shown to be a debt in

my name in the balancing of the account; these I shall pay . . . every month from the current month of Choeac of the present year . . .'

i 1–2 *Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος*. This appears to be a further instance of the practice of naming a man after his paternal grandfather (cf. 4–5); see D. Hobson, *BASP* 26 (1989) 157–68. An Aurelius Dionysius, *bouleutes*, is attested in XLIV **3171** 9 of 225–50 (see BL VIII 266), and an ex-gymnasiarch of this name in LXIX **4747** 3–5 (296). Some other persons by the name of Dionysius are also known to have been gymnasiarchs in third-century Oxyrhynchus, but all have an alias; see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle Liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Stud. Amst. XXVIII: Zutphen 1986) s. n.

2 *βο]υλευτής*. That Dionysius' father was a member of the bouleutic class too (ex-*prytanis*) is further evidence for the strong hereditary tendency regarding eligibility for membership of the *boule*; see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (ASP XI: Toronto 1971) 30, and M. Drew-Bear, *CE* 59 (1984) 316–17. The same holds for the office of the gymnasiarch.

3–4 *τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξ[υρ]υγχειτῶν πόλεως*. This honorific title of Oxyrhynchus provides a *terminus post quem*, i.e., *c.*269; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281ff. After the introduction of the honorific formula *λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη* in 271/2, and until its disappearance from the documents early in the sixth century, the plain formula (*λαμπρά*) was exceptional; see Hagedorn, loc. cit. 285–8, and cf. some fourth-century examples in LIV **3748–9**, **3751–2**, **3760**. Thus there is a good chance that **4829** belongs in the period *c.*269–72.

4 *υἱός*. For this use of *υἱός*, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277–82.

Σαραπίωνος. An Aurelius Sarapion, *agoranomus* and *bouleutes*, is attested in **3171** (cf. above, 1 n.). Gymnasiarchs called Sarapion and with no alias (cf. 1–2 n.) in third-century Oxyrhynchus are attested in XIV **1665** 1, 28 (III) and LXI **4119** 3 (*c.*270).

7–8 *Αὐρηλίῳ Σεύθῃ Ὡρείωνος*. It is tempting to identify this Seuthes with one of those already known. The most prominent of these is *Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης ὁ καὶ Ὡρίων*, a gymnasiarch in 297/8? (XLV **3246** 6), and the earliest known *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus (already in office in 303); see LIV p. 222, and LXIII **4354** introd. In that case, our document would refer to the period when Seuthes had not held any office. A difficulty is that here *Ὡρίων* is a patronymic, whereas when Seuthes appears in an official capacity this name is an alias, while the patronymic is never mentioned—but this is normal in documents addressed to officials. One could assume that Seuthes took a second name after his father's (for this practice, see Hobson, *BASP* 26 (1989) 166–8), and that in his earlier attestations his alias was omitted (cf. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 249–52). Another(?) Seuthes, clearly a person of some standing, is attested in the small Oxyrhynchite archive of Philantinoos, which spans the years 296–307; see P. Harris II 230–4 introd., where other references to this name in Oxyrhynchite documents are collected. Any of these persons could be the Aurelius Seuthes of P. Mich. XIV 676.25 (Oxy.; 272), an application for membership of the gymnasium (*epikrisis*) that he submitted in the capacity of an orphan's guardian.

8 *Ἀννίδος*. The female name *Ἀννίς* has occurred in four other documents, all of them Oxyrhynchite: PUG I 22.3 (345), LXIII **4398** 13 (553), SB XVI 12585.1 (557), and P. Hamb. III 221.11 (580). Onomastica have it oxytone to distinguish it from the commoner male name *Ἄννις* (gen. *Ἄννιδος* and *Ἄννεως*) (the accent should be corrected in LXIII **4398** 13).

10 The scribe first wrote *α*, perhaps in anticipation for *ἀργυρίου*, but immediately crossed it out.

11 *ἐν ἐμοί*. For the specific function of this prepositional phrase, meaning 'in der Hand, Macht, Gewalt, zur Verfügung jemandes', see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 395–7 (§116 Ib, δ), who specifically connects the usage with debts ('auf einem Namen lautenden Schuld').

12 *ἐκ] λόγου συνάρσεως*. In this context *σύναρσις* should mean 'revised reckoning, balancing'. The collocation *ἐκ/ἀπὸ λόγου συνάρσεως* is also attested in P. Mil. Vogl. IV 227 = P. Kron. 16.13–14

(138), P. Fouad 26.53 (158/9; see BL VI 40), P. Laur. II 25.8–9 (293/4). On *cύναρcιc* in the papyri, see P. Laur. II 25.8–9 n., and CPR XIV 43 ii 1 n.

13 *Cεβαcτ[ο]ῦ* would imply that the document was written in the time of a sole emperor, though there are exceptions to the rule; see XLIV **3198** 9 n.

14 *δραχμὰc τετρακοcίαc*. The amount is divisible by four, which means that it was payable in billon tetradrachms.

15 *τάξομαι*. For the use of this verb in loans of money, see D. Hagedorn, J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 137 (n. l. 7).

16 Perhaps read *c̣ὺ̣[ν] τ̣[ό]κ̣οι̣ς δ̣ρ̣α̣χμια[ίο]ι̣[c*. The set expression for the usual rate of interest, namely 1% a month, commonly begins *τόκου δραχμιαίου*, but the formula *cὺν τόκῳ/τόκοιc* is well attested and means 'including interest'; see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 129, 131, 135 [= *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt: Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis* 17–30]. An objection to this reconstruction could be raised by the grammar, namely that after *ὧν τάξομαι* one would expect a noun, e.g. *τόκον*, or the amount of money paid in each month, e.g. *δραχμὰc ἑκατόν*, unless this was postponed for the beginning of line 20. One could also have expected in 16–18 the number of monthly instalments in which the debt would be paid as well as the amount paid in each of them, as for instance in I **98** 16–17 (141/2) *ἐν̣ καταβολῇ μηνῶ(ν) πεντήκοντα* or P. Oxy. Hels. 43.15–16 (III) ([*ἐν*] *κ̣α̣ταβολῇ ἐν μη̣c̣ὶ* [*δε*]*καε̣*[*ννέ*]*α ἐφεξῆc*), but such a formula does not seem to suit the traces.

17 One may restore *ἕ*]*κ̣άc̣τ̣η̣*[*c μ*]*ν̣ω̣̂c̣*, assuming that *ε* was written at the end of 16. For this collocation, see P. Ups. Frid 3.5–6 n.

17–18 *τ̣οῦ μ*[*ηνὸc*] *ἑκάc̣τ̣ο*[*υ*]. This formula was particularly favoured by Oxyrhynchite scribes in acknowledgements of debt, while in the other nomes the formula more frequently employed is *κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαcτον*.

20 At the beginning of the line the upper half of an upright is visible, topped by a hook facing left. It could be either *κ̣* or the symbol for *ἔτουc*.

20–22 In these lines the interest for the excess period may have been mentioned. One may think e.g. of *ἐὰν δὲ μ*]*ὴ ἀπ̣ο̣*[*δῶ ἐκτίcω τοῦ ὑπερπεc*]*όντ̣ο̣c̣* [*χρόνου*] *τ̣*[*οὺc* (or *ἰ*[*coυc*) *τόκουc κ*]*α̣θ̣ά̣*[*περ ἐκ δίκηc*, but the putative omicron in 21 is difficult, while the trace at the start of 22 does not seem to admit tau or iota.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4830. Top of a Lease

100/190(a) 15.2 × 15 cm 7 December 426

The upper part of a lease, apparently of indefinite duration; its object has not survived, but was very probably house property (see 10 n.). The lessor is an Oxyrhynchite nobleman not known previously, Fl. Archelaus, *vir clarissimus*. The lessee is a woman.

A sheet join runs 0.5 cm from the right-hand edge.

ὑπατίᾳ τῶν δεcποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοcίου τὸ ιβ//
καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β// τῶν αἰωνίων
Αὐγούcτων, Χοιὰ⟨κ⟩ ια//.
Φλαουΐῳ Ἀρχαιλάῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ υἱῷ

Φοιβ[άμμ]ωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Θεωνο.. θυγατρὸς Ἀπίωνος χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούσης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἑκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Χοιὰκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρ̣γ̣ ο̣β̣ τῆς δεκάτης ἰνδικτίον[ος τὴν διαφέρουσάν [σοι - - - - - -
].[
. . . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:
(*m.*2) μίσθως(ις) Θεονο. θυγάτηρ Ἀπίωνος̣ [- - -

1 l. ὑπατείᾳ 4 l. Ἀρχελάῳ 14 μισθως l. Θεωνο– θυγατρός

'In the consulship of our masters Theodosius for the 12th time and Valentinianus for the 2nd time, the perpetual Augusti, Choeac 11.

'To Flavius Archelaus, *vir clarissimus*, son of Phoebammon, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Theon— daughter of Apion, acting without a guardian, from the same city. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the present month of Choeac of the current year 103/72 of the tenth indiction, the . . . belonging to you . . .'

Back: (2nd hand) 'Lease of Theon— daughter of Apion . . .'

1–3 On the consulship, see *CLRE* 386–7 (cf. 388–9); *CSBE*² 195.

4 Φλαουΐῳ Ἀρχαιλάῳ (l. Ἀρχελάῳ). This person may recur in the contemporary P. Rain. Cent. 93 (426/7), possibly of Hermopolite provenance; cf. ll. 3–4 -ίτο]υ̣ νομοῦ καὶ Ἀρχαίλαος | [?] Ὀξυρυγχίτου̣.

Most post-Ptolemaic instances of the name Ἀρχέλαος come from Oxyrhynchite documents. The spelling with -αι- is also attested in X **1255** 4 (292) and P. Rain. Cent. 93.4 (cited above).

5 Φοιβ[άμμ]ωνος. It seems that Phoebammon was alive at that time, and that his rank was not as elevated as his son's. Of persons of this name attested in contemporary documents, we may note an Oxyrhynchite *navicularius* addressed as Α[ὐ]ρ̣[ή]λ̣[ι]ος (l. Α[ὐρηλίῳ) Φοιβάμμωνι Ἀντιόχου ναυάρχου (l. -ῳ) in P. Heid. IV 306.4 (413); cf. also LVI **3862** 24 (IV/V) πλοῖον Φοι̣βά̣μμωνος (Φοι̣δά̣μμωνος *ed. pr.*, but see *ZPE* 123 (1998) 191), though this could be another Phoebammon. Fl. Phoebammon, *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus some time in the late fourth or early fifth century (SB XVIII 13158.1), is probably a different person. The same applies to the Oxyrhynchite *vir clarissimus* attested in P. Mert. I 41.2, 9, 14 of *c.*406 (see BL VIII 208), unless the *curator* had meanwhile obtained the clarissimate.

5–6 ἀπὸ τῆς . . . Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. In view of this passage, I must qualify my statement,'[i]n Oxyrhynchite legal documents of that date, *viri clarissimi*, *curiales* and other eminent persons were not normally given an indication of their *origo* in the manner of the less privileged ones, who would be referred to as "Aureli— X . . . from the . . . city of the Oxyrhynchites". Instead, they were described with reference to the area in which they held office (e.g. πολιτευόμενος τῆς . . . Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν), and/or land' (*ZPE* 141 (2002) 160). But perhaps here we only have an exception. Things of course changed with the further devaluation of the clarissimate in the later part of the fifth century (cf. e.g. XVI **1891** 2–3, of 495).

7 Θεωνο . . . Cf. 14. Perhaps Θεωνοῦς, for Θεωνοῦτος (Θεᾳνοῦς does not seem to be a possible reading). If it is not an orthographic variant of the common name Θεανοῦς, Θεωνοῦς is a new name.

7–8 χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούσης. This is a late instance of the formula, on which see J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance (4'–7' siècle)* ii (Paris 1992) 197–204 (this is an example of 'formule I', discussed on p. 201), and J. Sheridan, *BASP* 33 (1996) 117–31.

10 The wording suggests that this was a lease of a building; see LXVIII **4682** 8–9 n.

12 τὴν διαφέρουσάν [σοι. οἰκίαν or ἐξέδραν are the strongest candidates to restore in the break.

N. GONIS

4831. Loan of Money with Interest in Kind

95/29(a) 22 × 20.2 cm 26 August 429

A loan of one solidus to be repaid in a month or so, the interest being half a *centenarium* of woad. The text is not complete; we lack the lower part, which will have contained the subscription by the debtor and the notarial signature.

On loans in money with interest in kind, most commonly in wheat, see BGU XII 2140 introd.; some further references in *ZPE* 129 (2000) 185. A good parallel to **4831** is VIII **1130** (484).

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα]ουί[ων] Φῆλικο[ς] καὶ Τ̣αύ̣ρου [τ]ῶν̣
λαμπ]ρ̣οτάτων, Μεσορὴ ἐπαγ[ο]μ̣ένων̣ γ.
Αὐρήλιος c.3 -]δ̣ωρ̣[ο]ς Ζαχαρίου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ξ̣ενάρχο̣υ
τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτο]υ νομοῦ Α̣ὐρηλίῳ Φοιβάμμωνι υ̣ἱῷ̣
5 *name* ἀπὸ τῆς] α̣ὐτῆ̣ς [Ὀξυ]ρ̣υγχιτῶν̣ [πό]λεω[ς
χαίρειν. κυρίου ὄν]τ̣ο[ς] κ̣αὶ β̣[εβαίο]υ τοῦ π̣[ροτ]έρ̣ο̣υ μ[ου
γραμματείου, τῇ πίστ]ε̣[ι αὐτοῦ ἀ]κ̣ολούθ̣[ω]ς ὁμολο[γ]ῶ
δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐσχηκέ]ν̣αι π̣αρ̣[ὰ σοῦ] ἐν̣ χρήσ̣ει [δι]ὰ̣ χειρὸς ἐξ̣ [ο]ἰ̣κ̣ου σου
ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ [ἰδί]α̣ν̣ μ[ου] κ̣αὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν χρυσοῦ ἁπλοῦν
10 δεσ̣π̣ο̣τ̣ικ̣[ὸν] δόκιμον εὔσταθμον νομισμάτιον ἕν,
γί(νεται) νο(μισμάτιον) α̣ κ̣εφ̣α̣λ̣α̣ίου, ἐπὶ τῷ μ[ε] π̣αρασχεῖν [σ]οι ὑπὲ̣ρ̣
δι[αφό]ρου
αὐτο̣ῦ̣ ἄχρι τ̣ῆς ἐξῆς δηλουμένης προθεσμίας
ἰσάτεως κ̣αθαρᾶς ἐμφύλλου κεντηναρίου τὸ ἥμισυ.
τὸ δὲ προκίμενον τοῦ κεφαλαίου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον
15 ἓν ἀκίνδυνον ὃν ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες
ἀποδώσω σοι μετ̣ὰ τοῦ διαφόρου τῷ Φαῶφι μηνὶ
τοῦ ε̣ἰσιόν[τ]ο̣ς ἔτ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ ρς οε τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος)
ἀνυπ̣[ερθέτως, γιν]ομέν̣[η]ς σ̣ο̣[ι] τῆς π̣ρ̣άξεως παρά τε
ἐμ̣[οῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μ]ο̣ι̣ [πάντ]ων̣ κ̣α[θ]ά̣-

20 περ ἐκ δίκης] *traces*

. . . . . .

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

].[(6 cm)]. Ξενάρχου [

11 γεΝ 13 ϊcατεωc 14 l. προκείμενον 17 l. τρειcκαιδεκάτης ϊνδικ

'After the consulship of Flavius Felix and Flavius Taurus, *viri clarissimi*, on the third Epagomenal day of Mesore.

'Aurelius —dorus son of Zacharias, from the hamlet of Xenarchus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Phoebammon son of . . . , from the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. My previous contract being valid, in accordance with the faith of it, I acknowledge that now too I have received from you on loan from hand to hand from your house, for my personal and pressing need, one unalloyed approved solidus of imperial gold of full weight, total 1 solidus, as capital, on condition that I shall provide to you for the interest on this until the end of the term stated below half a centenarium of pure leafy woad. And I shall be bound to pay back the aforementioned capital of one solidus of gold, being free of all risk, together with the interest, in the month Phaophi of the coming year 106/75 of the thirteenth indiction without delay, you having the right of execution against me and against all my belongings as if by legal decision . . .'

Back: '. . . (hamlet) of Xenarchus . . .'

1 For the consulship, see *CLRE* 390–1, 393; *CSBE*^{2} 195.

3 *c.*3 -]δ̣ωρ[ο]c. Ἰcί]δωροc and Θεό]δωροc are the strongest candidates.

ἐποικίου Ξε̣νάρχο̣υ. On this hamlet, located in the old Upper toparchy, see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 125.

6–7 κυρίου ὄν]τ̣ο[c] κ̣αὶ β̣[εβαίο]υ τοῦ π̣[ροτ]έρο̣υ μ[ου γραμματείου, τῇ πίcτ]ε̣[ι αὐτοῦ ἀ]κ̣ολούθ̣[ω]c. References to earlier loans that had not been repaid by the time a new agreement was made are not uncommon; see CPR VII 40.5–7 n., LXVIII **4702** 8–9 n. The expression τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ/-ῶν ἀκολούθως also occurs in XXXIV **2718** 9 (458) and LXVIII **4702** 9–10 (520). *Pace* W. Schmitz, *Ἡ πίστις in den Papyri* (Diss. Köln 1964) 111, it is doubtful whether this is only a formula with no legal force.

11–12 ἐπὶ τῷ με παραcχεῖν [c]ο̣ι ὑπὲ̣ρ̣ δι[αφό]ρου . . . προθεcμίαc. See below, **4835** 16 n.

13 ἰcάτεωc. The ἰcάτιc, 'woad' (often called 'indigo'), is a plant known in botany as *isatis tinctoria*. This plant, originally coming from the Orient, furnished the blue-dye pigment commonly used in antiquity throughout the Mediterranean basin. Because of its important role in trade, the plant came to be used also as a kind of currency. See J. B. Hurry, *The Woad Plant and Its Dye* (1930); J. B. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv (1956) 108; further literature is cited by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 86 n. 5.

There are several instances of ἰcάτιc in the papyri: II **280** 14 (88/9), X **1279** 17 (139), I **101** 12 (142), P. Mert. I 17.12, 22 (158), BGU IV 1017.11 (II), LVI **3874** 20 (345/6?), P. Laur. III 83.1 (*c.*350), XLVIII **3428** 19, VII **1052** 19–25 (both IV), P. Hamb. IV 267.5 (*c.*336–48), III 228 passim (VI). However, this is the first text that specifies the standard requirements concerning the quality of the plant: it had to be 'leafy' (ἔμφυλλοc) and clean from other plants or dirt (καθαρά). In fact, there is evidence that on other occasions woad could be sold after having been pressed and shaped into 'masses' (μάδια) of fermented paste; see J. Gascou, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 257–8. In addition, certain land leases contain a clause that permits the tenant to choose the crop to be sown, but forbids the cultivation of woad and other dye plants, possibly because they were subject to state monopoly; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85–6, and J. L. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 236.

There is no information on the price of woad in Egypt at that time, so that it is impossible to deduce what rate of interest the half *centenarium* of woad represented. The standard and most common rate of interest was 12% per year, but the papyri attest rates of up to 25%. It is worth noting that in the Roman period the rates of interest in kind were normally much higher (up to 50%) than the rates of interest in cash; see D. Foraboschi, A. Gara, *Pap. Congr. XVI* (1981) 335–43. If the rate of interest here were 25%, the price of one *centenarium* of woad would be half a solidus.

κεντηναρίου. The term (Lat. *centenarium*) indicated a measure of weight equivalent to a 'quintal', that is, one hundred λίτραι. See P. Vindob. Worp 23.5 n., and S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (1991²) 53.

τὸ ἥμισυ. The use of the article appears to be unnecessary.

16–17 Phaophi of Oxyrhynchite era year 106/75, indiction 13 = 28 September – 27 October 429; see *CSBE*² 141, 159.

L. CAPPONI

4832. Lease of a *Symposion*

41 5B.88/E(1–3) 15.8 × 18.8 cm 12 January 436

A lease of a *symposion* situated in a district of Oxyrhynchus apparently not known otherwise. Both parties to the transaction are women, natives of the same city; for women involved in leases of urban property, see H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985) 102–9, esp. 108–9 for the Byzantine period, and J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4ᵉ-7ᵉ siècle)* ii (Paris 1992) 238, 425–7, 447–8. The contract breaks off where the amount of rent is expected.

The consular date of this text is of some interest: it appears that as late as 12 January 436, a scribe in Oxyrhynchus still dated by the consuls of 434. This is the first instance of a second postconsular year in fifth-century Egypt. See below, 1–2 n.

A sheet-join runs close to the left-hand edge.

μετὰ τὴ[ν ὑπατείαν Φ]λαουΐων Ἀρεοβίνδου
καὶ Ἄς[περος τῶν λα]μπροτάτων, Τῦβι ις.
Αὐρηλί[ᾳ c.8]... θυγατ[ρὶ Μ]αρτυρίου
ἀπὸ τῆς [λαμπρᾶς] κ̣αὶ λαμπρο̣τ̣[ά]τ̣ης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν
πόλεω̣[ς πα]ρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλιῶν Θεοδώρας
Ἡρακλέο̣υ κ̣[αὶ] τῆς θυγατρὸς Μ[αρ]τυρίας
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ̣ῆς πόλεως. ἑκο̣υσίως
ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσασθαι ἐξ ἀλληλεγ-
γύης ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ ἑξῆς μηνὸς
Μεχεὶρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρ̣ι̣β̣ πα
τῆς τετάρτης ἰνδικ̣τ̣ί̣ωνος τ̣ὸ διαφέρον σοι
ἀπὸ οἰκίας οὔσης ἐ̣ν̣ [τ]ῇ̣ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν

πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου . .ọν. .ου ὁλόκληρον
συμπόσιον σὺν χρηστηρίης πᾶσιν καὶ
τ]ελέσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου
].ẹ[c.3].[c.2].[
. . . . .

Back, downwards, along the fibres:
† μίσθωσις Θεοδώρας καὶ τῆς θυ[γατρὸς - - -

14 l. χρηστηρίοις

'After the consulship of Flavii Areobindus and Aspar, *viri clarissimi*, Tybi 16.

'To Aurelia . . . , daughter of Martyrius, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aureliae Theodora, daughter of Heracles, and her daughter Martyria from the same city. We voluntarily undertake to hold on lease upon mutual security from the first day of the following month Mecheir of the present year 112/81 of the fourth indiction the whole apartment, with all appurtenances, belonging to you out of a house situated in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites in the quarter of . . . ; and we shall pay as rent on mutual security . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Theodora and her daughter . . .'

1–2 Fl. Areobindus and Fl. Ardabur Aspar were the consuls of 434; see *CLRE* 402–3 (cf. 404–5), and *CSBE*² 196. The conversion of the date to 12.i.436 is secured by the reference to 'the present year 112/81 of the fourth indiction' (10–11), which began on 30.viii.435. This is the earliest example of the use of a postconsulate in a second postconsular year; for other such datings by second postconsulates, see *CSBE*² 88–90.

The consuls of 435 have not been attested in a papyrus of this year. Dr Rea points out that in view of **4832** it seems likely that CPR X 114 refers to the postconsulate of Theodosius Aug. XV et Valentinianus Aug. IV coss. 435, and thus dates to 436.

1 Ἀρεοβίνδου. The scribe first wrote ι after ε, which he immediately corrected. In P. Strasb. I 1.1 (Herm.; 434; see BL I 403, VIII 413) the name is spelled as Ἀριόβιντος, and in P. Select. 15.1 (Heracl.; 435) as Ἀριόβινθος.

2 Ἄσ[περος. The consul's name is restored in the form attested in P. Strasb. I 1.1 and P. Flor. III 315 = SB XXII 15493.1. (Ἄσπερ(ος) should probably be preferred to Ἀσπέρ(ου) in P. Select. 15.1.)

5–6 πα]ρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλιῶν Θεοδώρας Ἡρακλέου κ[αὶ] τῆς θυγατρὸς Μ[αρ]τυρίας. The fact that the name of Martyria's father is not mentioned might suggest that she was an ἀπάτωρ; but we know very little about ἀπάτορες in this period.

8–9 ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης. Cf. 15. On the origins of the term see C. Préaux, *CdÉ* 41 (1966) 354–60. H. J. Wolff in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* iii (1971) 734–56, esp. 738–46, has argued that this clause was superfluous, and its omission did not have any juristic effect upon the agreement; it was 'kein "Institut" mit eigenen Konturen und Funktionen, sondern ein blosses Bild, eine lediglich konstruktive Denkform, in der die solidarische Haftung der Schuldner einen bequemen und kurzen Ausdruck fand'. See also Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ* 114.

10 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρἰβ πα. Oxyrhynchite era year 112/81, coterminous with indiction 4, ran from 435 to 436; see *CSBE*² 142.

12ff. ἀπὸ οἰκίας κτλ. On the subdivision of urban property in this period and its transformation into a source of income, see H. Saradi, *BASP* 35 (1998) 17–43.

13 *ἐπ' ἀμφόδου . .ον. .ου*. We have not been able to read the name of a known *ἄμφοδον* in the traces (see the list in S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211–21).

ὁλόκληρον. This may imply that a subdivided *symposion* could be the object of a lease; cf. the donation of a half *symposion* in P. Münch. I 8 (*c.*540; see BL VIII 226), and the sale of the same half symposion in P. Münch. I 9 (585), and P. Lond. V 1733 (594). There is evidence that subdivided *cenacula* (see next note) were leased in early imperial Rome; see B. W. Frier, *JRS* 67 (1977) 28–9.

14 *συμπόσιον*. A *συμπόσιον* was a dining-room in a private house, a banqueting hall exploited commercially, or, especially in the Byzantine period, an apartment used for dwelling, synonymous with Lat. *cenaculum*; see G. Husson, *OIKIA* (1983) 267–71, and Saradi, *BASP* 35 (1998) 34–6. For the use of the term in the sense of 'apartment' in Coptic documents, see A. A. Schiller in *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz* iv (1956) 366.

χρηστηρίης, l. *-οις*. On the interchange of *η* with *οι*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 265; the same spelling is attested in PSI VI 707.10, 12 (351).

16]. ̣ε̣[*c.*3].[. The traces could suit *κ̣ε̣[ράτ]ι̣[α*, i.e. one could consider restoring *τούτου ἐνιαυσίως χρυσοῦ κ̣ε̣[ράτ]ι̣[α*.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4833. Top of a Lease

63 6B.67/C(1–3)d 11.7 × 10.8 cm 17 October 516

The beginning of a lease that probably concerned city property; both parties, i.e. the church of St Mary (lessor), represented through the priest and steward Calamon, and Aurelia Sophia (lessee), are said to be located or reside in the city of Oxyrhynchus. The other details of the transaction are lost. The papyrus offers the first Egyptian record of the consulate of Flavius Petrus (see 1–2 n.).

ϯ ὑπατείας Φλα̣[ουΐου Πέτρ]ου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
Φ[αῶ]φι̣, κ̣ ἰνδι(κτίωνος) ι.
τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καλουμένῃ
τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῇ διακιμένῃ
κατὰ ταύτην τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν π̣όλ[ι]ν
διὰ σοῦ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου Καλάμω̣νος
πρεσβυτέρου καὶ οἰκονόμου τοῦ αὐ[το]ῦ
τόπου Α̣ὐρηλία Σοφία θυγάτηρ Πραοῦ[τ]ος
μητ̣ρὸς Ἡ̣ραείδος κατ̣α̣μένουσα ἐνταῦθ̣[α
. . . .[. .]. . . .[. .].[*c.*18
*c.*12].[. . .]. .[.]. .[. .]. .[. .].[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

μίσθ(ωσις) Σοφίας θυγατρ[ὸς Πραοῦτος - - -

2 ινδ̣ι 4 l. διακειμένῃ 9 l. Ἡραΐδος 12 μιcθ̣ῳ

'In the consulship of Flavius Petrus, *vir clarissimus*, Phaophi 20, indiction 10.'

'To the holy church called of St Mary, situated at this city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you the most pious Calamon, priest and steward of the same *topos*, Aurelia Sophia daughter of Praus, mother Herais, resident here in . . .'

Back: 'Lease of Sophia daughter of Praus . . .'

1–2 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*^{2} 147. The indiction figure and the length of the break in 1 indicate that the consul was Flavius Petrus, on whose consulship see *CLRE* 566–7 and *CSBE*^{2} 204. Only his posconsulate was attested previously, while the year 516 had yielded no papyri with consular formulas.

3–4 *τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καλουμένῃ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας*. This church is probably dedicated to the Virgin Mary rather than to a saint of this name; cf. XI **1357** 30, 45, [68] (535/6) (re-ed. A. Papaconstantinou, *REByz* 54 (1996) 135–59); see also Papaconstantinou, *JJP* 30 (2000) 84. Apart from **1357**, the church of St Mary in Oxyrhynchus is attested in I **147** 1 (556) and XVIII **2197** 11 (VI). It is unclear whether it is to be identified with the church of ἅμα Μ̣α̣ρ̣ί̣α̣ in P. Wash. Univ. I 6.5 (Oxy?; VI—see BL VIII 508). It should also be noted that SB I 1977 (V/VI) does not refer to a church; see A. K. Bowman, etc. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 366 n. 2.

6 *τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου*. For this title, typical of clergymen, see B. Mutschler, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 107.

Καλάμ̣ω̣ν̣ος. The accentuation is according to Pape–Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen* s.n. This is only the fourth attestation of the name in the papyri, and the second in papyri from Oxyrhynchus. It is also known from Coptic sources; see G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* (Leipzig 1929) 14, 60.

7 *πρεσβυτέρου καὶ οἰκονόμου*. Priests often figure as stewards of churches; see G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (München/Leipzig 2002) 163–4. On *οἰκονόμοι*, see further E. Wipszycka, *Les Ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles 1972) 135–41.

7–8 *τοῦ αὐ̣[το]ῦ τόπου*. For the term *τόπος* denoting a church, see Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbasides* (Paris 2001) 269–70, 272; cf. also E. Bernard, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 103–10.

8 *Α̣ὐ̣ρηλία Cοφία*. Women often appear in leases of urban property; see Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* 102–9; Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* 238, 425–7, 447–8; A. Rabinowitz, *BASP* 38 (2001) 57–8.

9 *κα̣τ̣α̣μένουca ἐνταῦ̣θ̣[α*. The *origo* of Sophia, presumably different from Oxyrhynchus, is not indicated. For longer-term changes of residence in Byzantine Egypt, see J. G. Keenan, *GRBS* 42 (2001) 57–82.

10 The traces seem to suit *ἐ̣ν̣ τ̣ῇ̣*. After that, we cannot confirm any text.

R. HATZILAMBROU

4834. Top of Document

93/Dec. 21/E(1)a 11.5 × 8.5 cm 28 September – 27 October 568

The top of a document addressed to Fl. Apion II. Traces of the endorsement are visible on the back, but are too scant to reveal the exact nature of the document. The papyrus comes from a layer that has produced no other papyri with apparent connections to the Apion estate.

The only claim of **4834** to a minimum of distinction is that it extends by some two months the period in which Oxyrhynchite scribes referred to the first consulate of Iustinus II, whose second consulate in 568 appears not to have been known until several months later; see further 1–3 n.

† βασιλ]ε̣ίας καὶ ὑ̣πατίας τοῦ θειοτά[του καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
ἡμῶ]ν̣ δεσπότου Φλ(αουΐου) Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου [Αὐγούστου καὶ
Αὐτο]κ̣ρ̣(άτορος) ἔτους γ̅, Φαῶφι . , ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) β̅, ἐ̣ν̣ Ὀξ[υρύγχ(ων).
Φλαουΐ̣ῳ] Ἀ̣π̣[ί]ωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφ(υεστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑ̣π̣[άτων
ὀρδιναρίων
καὶ πατρι]κ̣ίῳ, χ̣εουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λα̣[μπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν)
πόλ]ε̣[ι], δ̣[ιὰ] Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπεροτῶ[ντος καὶ προσ-
πορίζοντ]ος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ τῷ αὐτῷ πα̣[νευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ
τὴν ἀγωγὴ]ν̣ καὶ ἐνοχήν, Αὐρήλιος Ἀ̣[c.15
]. . . . . [ ]. . . [

1 l. ὑπατείας 2 φλʃ 3 αυτο]κρ(?) ἰνδ° 4 υπερφʃ
6 l. ἐπερωτῶντος

'In the reign and consulship of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 3, Phaophi *n*, indiction 2, in (the city) of the Oxyrhynchi.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius* and *patricius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius A-- . . .'

1–3 The regnal and consular formula of Iustinus II attested here is known only from Oxyrhynchite documents of 566–8; see *CSBE*² 210 (consular 2B), 254–5 (regnal 3). This is its latest occurrence, taking the place of I **199** descr. = P. Lond. III (p. 279) 778 of 28 July 568. Some time after that, Oxyrhynchite scribes revised the date clauses by adding a reference to the second consulate of Iustinus II, held in 568; this is first attested in I **134** of 9 June 569. (The regnal clause in **4835** 2–5 is a case apart; see the note there.)

4 Φλαουΐ̣ῳ] Ἀ̣π̣[ί]ωνι. This is the so-called 'Apion II', on whom see (among other discussions) R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 60–64, and LXX pp. 78–9.

N. GONIS

4835. Loan of Money

64 6B.54/C(2–3)a 11.5 × 25 cm 21 March 574
Plate XII

Aurelius Phoebammon, from the previously unknown *epoikion* of Peneb, contracts with Aurelius Menas, a servant (παῖς; see 9 n.) of the Apion estate, for

a loan of one solidus less five carats. The loaned sum bears no interest and is to be returned in two months' time. On sixth- and seventh-century loans in general, especially their juristic aspects, see H. Preissner's dissertation *Das verzinsliche und das zinslose Darlehen in den byzantinischen Papyri des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts* (Erlangen 1956), and cf. J. Frösén in CPR VII pp. 152–65.

The document is written along the fibres and is almost complete, missing only the rest of the debtor's subscription, the amanuensis' statement, and possibly a notarial signature at the bottom. Despite the practiced appearance of his hand, the scribe's spelling and grammar are careless and deficient (see below). He also makes some inadvertent omissions, e.g. of the regnal year number (5), the infinitive governed by ἐπὶ τῷ (16), and the first half of a whole legal clause in 19–20. His dating formula as it stands is unparalleled after 568 in Oxyrhynchus, but this is probably also due to oversight (see 2–5 n.). For the sake of readability, the text with its original peculiarities is printed alongside a normalized version.

χμγ	χμγ
+ βασιλίας τοῦ θευτάτου καὶ εὐσεβες-	+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβες-
τάτ̣ου ἐμῶν δεσπότων Φλαουΐου	τάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουΐου
Ἰουστις τοῦ ωνιου Ἀγούστος καὶ ρτωγρ-	Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτο-
5 ατωρ̣ος, μηνὶ Φαμενὼθ κε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ.	κράτορος, μηνὶ Φαμενὼθ κε, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ.
Αὐρ̣ήλιος Φιβάμμωνος υἱὸς Ἰωάν-	Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἰωάν-
νης μετρὸς Μάρθας ἀπὸ εἰπικίου	νου μητρὸς Μάρθας ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
Πηνηβ τοῦ Ν̣έου Ἰουστίνου πόλεως	Πηνηβ τῆς Νέας Ἰουστίνου πόλεως
Αὐρηλίῳ Μηνᾶ πετὶ τῶ ἐντώξω	Αὐρηλίῳ Μηνᾶ παιδὶ τοῦ ἐνδόξου
10 οἴκο̣υ ἀ̣πο̣ὺ τῆς Νέου Ἰουστίνου	οἴκου ἀπὸ τῆς Νέας Ἰουστίνου
πόλεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νωμοῦ χαίριν.	πόλεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαίρειν.
ὁμωλωγῶ ἐ̣χεγένοι παρὰ c ἐν	ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν
χ̣ρήσ̣ο̣ι διὰ χιρὸς εἰc δας μου καὶ ἀν-	χρήσει διὰ χειρὸς εἰς ἰδίας μου καὶ ἀν-
ναγέ̣α̣ς μου χρήας χρυσοῦ νομι-	αγκαίας μου χρείας χρυσοῦ νομισ-
15 ς̣μάτιον ἕν, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον)	μάτιον ἕν, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμά-
α π(αρὰ κεράτια) ε κεφαλέου	τιον) α π(αρὰ κεράτια) ε κεφαλαίου
εἰπὶ τῷ μοι coι ἐν τῷ Παχὼν μηνὶ	ἐπὶ τῷ με ⟨. . .⟩ coι ἐν τῷ Παχὼν μηνὶ
τ̣ῆς παρούcις ἑβ̣τ̣ώμη̣ς ἰνδ̣ικτ̣ί-	τῆς παρούσης ἑβδόμης ἰνδικτί-
ανος ἀνεπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ	ονος ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ
πάcι̣ς ἀντιλογίας. ἁπλῆν γρα-	πάσης ἀντιλογίας. ⟨. . .⟩ ἁπλῆν γρα-
20 φης καὶ ἠπερωτωθης ὁμωλώ-	φεῖσαν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολό-
γησα. Αὐρήλιος Φιβάμμων υἱὸς	γησα. Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς
Ἰωάν̣νου ὁ̣(?) πρωγεγραμένοις	Ἰωάννου ὁ προγεγραμμένος
ἔc̣χα̣ν τὰ τοῦ χρυcοῦ νομιc-	ἔσχον τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισ-

μάτιον] ἕ̣[ν π]α̣ρ̣ὰ̣ κ̣ε̣ράτια μάτιον ἓν παρὰ κεράτια

. . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres (same hand):

25 + γραμμ̣(άτιον) Φ̣ι̣βάμμωνος υἱο̣ῦ̣ Ἰωάννου + γραμμ(άτιον) Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ Ἰωάννου
μετ̣ρ(ὸς) Μάρ̣θ̣ας [. . . .] . . υ̣ ἐπικίου μητρ(ὸς) Μάρθας [. . . .] . . υ̣ ἐποικίου
Πηνηβ .[Πηνηβ .[

5, 16 μηνι 5 ινϡ 15 γι χρ Ν̊ α π ε 25 γραμμ̣ μετ̣ρ

'643. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, in the month Phamenoth 25, indiction 7.

'Aurelius Phoebammon son of Ioannes, mother Martha, from the hamlet Peneb of the New City of Iustinus, to Aurelius Menas, servant of the glorious house, from the New City of Iustinus of the same nome, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you on loan from hand to hand for my personal and pressing needs one gold solidus, total 1 gold solidus less 5 (carats) as principal, on the condition that I (return it) to you in the month of Pachon of the present seventh indiction, without delay and without any dispute. (This deed) written in one copy (is normative), and upon being asked the formal question, I assented.'

'I, Aurelius Phoebammon, son of Ioannes, the aforementioned, received the one gold solidus less five carats . . .'

Back: 'Deed of Phoebammon son of Ioannes, mother Martha, from the hamlet Peneb . . .'

Orthography. The spelling irregularities displayed by the scribe beyond commonplace phonetic spellings (itacisms, ο > ω, αι > ε) can be summarized as follows (references to F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, are given in parentheses):

2	ει > ε (257–9)
2	ο > υ (293–4)
3, 7, 12, 25	η > ε (242–4)
4	αυ > α (226–8)
4	αυ > ρ
4, 12	κ > γ (79–80)
6, 7, 21, 25	οι > ι (272)
7, 16	ε > ει (256–7)
9, 17	δ > τ (81–2)
9	ου > ω (208–9)
10	ο > ου (212–13)
12	αι > οι (275 c.3)
13	ει > οι (273)
14	γκ > γ (116)
16	ε > οι (274 n. 1)
18, 23	ο > α (287–9)
18	υ > ε (273–4)
20	ε > η (244–6)
20	η > ω (cf. 293)
22	μμ > μ (157)
22	ο > οι (201)

In addition, we find deficient spellings (e.g. 4 ⟨αἰ⟩ωνίου, 12 c⟨οῦ⟩, 13 ⟨ἴ⟩δ⟨ί⟩ας), confusion and wrong use of cases (3, 4, 6, 7, 16, 19?), incorrect gender and number agreement (e.g. 8), and wrong division of words between lines (4–5, 14–15). Many of these anomalies point to strong 'bilingual interference'; see F. T. Gignac, *YCS* 28 (1985) 155–65.

1 *χμγ*. This Christian symbol, which first appears in Egypt in the early fourth century, has been variously interpreted, most plausibly as an isopsephic representation of the phrase *θεὸς βοηθός* or as an abbreviation for *X(ριστὸν) M(αρία) γ(εννᾷ)* or *X(ριστὸς) μ(άρτυς) γ(ένηται)*. For recent bibliography, see CPR XXIII 34.1 n.

2–5 For the conversion of the date see *CSBE*² 151, 162. Besides omitting the consulate/post-consulate and the regnal year number '9', this dating formula is peculiar. It seems to correspond, but with the omission of *καὶ ὑπατείας*, to formula 3 in *CSBE*² Appendix F p. 254; but in Oxyrhynchite documents the latter is found exclusively within the years 566–8, i.e., 'before Justinus' second consulate in 568 was known in Egypt' (*CSBE*² 254–5). Thereafter, dated Oxyrhynchite documents always use the more elaborate formula 4 of *CSBE*² Appendix F p. 255. We must therefore assume that the scribe inadvertently omitted *μεγίστου εὐεργέτου* after *δεσπότου* and the reference to Iustinus' second consulate, both of which are found in formula 4. Cf. LXX **4796** 1–4 n. for a comparable oversight in a dating formula, and P. Mich. XV 734 (572) for the omission of Iustinus' consular formula.

6–7 *Αὐρήλιος Φιβάμμωνος* (l. *Φοιβάμμων*) *υἱὸς Ἰωάννης* (l. *Ἰωάννου*). An Aurelius Phoebammon son of Ioannes appears in LXII **4351** 14 (late VI), one of a group of men agreeing to assist the *phrontistes* of Pakerke in collecting money and grain taxes from the Apiones' holdings there. However, the fact that he writes his own subscription in **4351** cautions against identifying him with the apparently illiterate Aurelius Phoebammon of our document, whose subscription (21 ff.) is written by the scribe of the body of the contract.

8 *Πηνηβ*. A new place name.

τοῦ Ν̣έου (l. *τῆς Νέας*) *Ἰουστίνου πόλεως*. This is the new and short-lived name of Oxyrhynchus during the reign of Iustinus II. For a list of instances, see LXII **4350** 5 n., to which add SB XII 11079.7 (571), LXIX **4754** 6 (572), LXX **4789** 8 (576), **4791** 6 (578); cf. also the proposed restoration of P. Laur. III 75.9–10, 13–14 (574) in BL VIII 165–6. The name may have been adopted in response to a favour or privilege granted by the emperor to the city.

9 *Αὐρηλίῳ Μηνᾶ πετί* (l. *παιδί*). The terms *παῖς* and *παιδάριον* are notoriously ambiguous as status designations (see the extensive bibliography cited in J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* ii (Paris 1992) 58 n. 38), but here the *gentilicium* 'Aurelius' a priori excludes the possibility that this individual is a slave. Likewise, it has been argued that the *παιδάρια* of the Apion estate who are recipients of salaries in XIX **2244** fr. 1, P. Princ. II 96, and LVIII **3960** 28 are not likely to be slaves; see T. Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed* (diss. Chicago 2001) 169–70, and N. Gonis, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 200–1. 'Servant', however, remains vague and does not indicate Aurelius Menas' exact function(s) within the estate. There are sufficient examples to show that the term need not refer to menial or 'domestic' servants but could designate estate employees of all sorts, including ones involved in the administration and management of the estate: I **138** 23–4, 32–3 (610/11), *παῖδες* mentioned alongside superintendents and secretaries (*τοῖς . . . διοικηταῖς καὶ . . . χαρτουλαρίοις καὶ παισὶν ἀπερχομένοις εἰς οἱανδήποτε γεουχικὴν χρείαν*); P. Princ. 96, a number of *παιδάρια* are also *μειζότεροι*; P. Cair. Masp. III 67327.22, 37 (539), two individuals are referred to as *παιδὸς καὶ φορολόγου* and *παιδὸς καὶ προνοητοῦ* respectively; CPR XIV 41 (VI/VII), various estate personnel under the heading of *παιδαρίων* (*μείζονες*, water-work engineer, 'cashier', tax accountant, notary, cooks). See also J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 186 n. 107.

9–10 *τῷ ἐντώξῳ* (l. *τοῦ ἐνδόξου*) *οἴκου*. So far as we can tell from other evidence, in Oxyrhynchus this phrase (= *domus gloriosa*) always refers to the patrimonial estate of the 'Apion' family; see R.

Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (Bari 2001) 83. The head of the estate at the date of this document (574) is the so-called Apion II, consul in 539 (d. 578).

13–14 *εἰc δας* (l. *ἰδίας*) *μου καὶ ἀνναγέᾳς* (l. *ἀναγκαίας*) *μου χρήας* (l. *χρείας*). The repetition of *μου* is uncommon and probably a mistake.

15 *γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ κεράτια) ε κεφαλέου* (l. *κεφαλαίου*). Since there is no positive or negative mention of interest and the loaned sum is qualified as a 'principal', we could assume that the loan bears no interest. This period has produced a significant number of loans that do not mention interest or are qualified as 'interest-free'; for Oxyrhynchite examples, cf. XVI **1970** (554), **1892** (581), P. Münch. III 98 (593/4) [26 *ἀτοκί*], LXVI **4535** (600), PSI I 63 (624?). Such loans were of course already common in Ptolemaic and Roman times, although P. Pestman, *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 7–29, has argued that many loans described as *ἄτοκα* probably calculated the interest together with the principal. Whether this practice was maintained in the later period remains unclear. A factor also worth considering in this period is Christianity's prohibition of usury (see Preissner, *Das verzinsliche und das zinslose Darlehen* 60–73), but given the widespread existence of loans with interest it is difficult to assess its concrete impact.

π(αρὰ κεράτια) ε. It is impossible to read *π(αρὰ κεράτια) ς* (which would imply the Oxyrhynchite *δημόcιος ζυγός*), for the top of *ε* cannot be interpreted as an extension of the diagonal of *π(αρά)*; note the change of angle and the loop at the top, and compare e.g. the epsilon of *πόλεως* at 11.

16 *εἰπὶ* (l. *ἐπὶ*) *τῷ μοι* (l. *με*) ⟨. . .⟩ *coι*. The scribe inadvertently omitted the infinitive dependent on *ἐπὶ τῷ*. This phrase is seldom used in the promise-to-repay clause, but usually figures in loan contracts to specify the interest rate on the capital, e.g. *ἐπὶ τῷ με/ἡμᾶc χορηγεῖν καὶ διδόναι καὶ παραcχεῖν coι ὑπὲρ διαφόρου/λόγῳ τόκου κτλ.*; cf. LXXI **4831** 11–12 (429), P. Select. 1.8–9 (454), XVI **1891** 7–8 (495), PSI VIII 964.7–8 (VI), SB I 4498.14–15 (VI).

παρούcιc (l. *-cης*). There is an unexplainable trace below upsilon, probably a stray mark.

19–20 *ἁπλῆν γραφῆc* (l. *-φεῖcαν*). These syntactically incoherent words must stand for the common *kyria*-clause, i.e. *κύριον τὸ γραμμάτιον ἁπλοῦν γραφέν*. The feminine accusative perhaps arises from confusion with formulae in which the phrase is a direct object with a feminine noun such as *ὁμολογία* or *χειρογραφία*, e.g. SB XII 11231.18 (Oxy.; 549) *πεποιήμεθα τὴν χειρογραφ(ίαν) ἁπλῆ* (l. *ἁπλῆν*) *γραφ(εῖcαν)*. Cf. also T. Varie 10.8 (VII) *κύριον τὸ γρ(αμματεῖον) ἁπλῆν γραφῖcαν* (l. *ἁπλοῦν γραφέν*).

22 *Ἰωάνν̣ου ὀ̣*(?) *πρω-*. In the ligature between *υ* and *π*, it is unclear whether *ο* was intended.

23–4 *νομιc*[*μάτιον*]. Despite *τά* in 23, *-μάτιον* fits the space better than *-μάτια*.

25 *μετ̣ρ*(*ὸc*) (l. *μητ-*) *Μάρ̣θ̣ας*. Although the specification of the mother's name in dockets is unusual, it seems best suited to the traces here. Between the *ε* and *ρ* the upright of *τ* has apparently been abraded; the *ρ* of *Μάρθας* is almost completely obliterated in a lacuna, but the *θ* is virtually certain. Supposing a short blank space after the mother's name, perhaps read *ἀ*]*π̣ο̣ύ̣* (for *ἀπό*, as in 10) before *ἐπικίου*. The lost part of the docket probably specified the amount lent, i.e. *χ*[*ρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) ε*.

A. BENAISSA

4836. Top of Document

64 6B.54/C(2–3)b 16 × 10.6 cm 1 February 578

This appears to be the latest dated document of the time of the co-regency of Iustinus II and Tiberius II to make no mention of the latter's regnal count, contrary to the practice attested in all Oxyrhynchite documents of 576 and 577. This

changed in 578, and the numbers of Tiberius' regnal years were introduced in the dating clauses; see LXX **4790**, which remarkably dates from three weeks earlier than **4836**. The date of **4836** may imply that the change was recent, and was not consolidated immediately. However, the errors in 2, 6, 7, and 9 may also suggest that this text is a mere aberration, the work of an inexperienced scribe.

Remains of the endorsement are visible on the back.

ϯ χμγ ′
† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστί⟨ν⟩ου
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους
5 ῑγ, ὑπατίας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β̄,
κ[αὶ] Φ̣λ̣αουΐου Τιβαιρίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου Καίσαρος,
Μεχεὶρ ζ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἑνδεκάτης.
Α̣ὐ̣ρήλιος Πέτρε υἱὸς Αμειν ἐποικ(ίου)
10 . .εμείο̣υ τοῦ Ἰουστινουπολείτου νομοῦ
. . . . .

3 φλαουϊου 5 l. ὑπατείας γαληνοτητος: η corr. from ε 6 l. Τιβερίου 7 in the left margin, writing of obscure import 8 ἰνδ 9 υἱος εποικ 10 l. Ἰουστινουπολίτου

'643. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 13, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius alias Novus Constantinus, the most fortunate Caesar, Mecheir 7, indiction eleventh.

'Aurelius Petre son of Amein, from the hamlet of . . . of the Iustinopolite nome . . .'

1 *ϯ χμγ ′*. See **4835** 1 n. The combination of *χμγ* with staurogram and a single oblique dash seems to occur here for the first time.

2–7 For the formulas see above, introd., and LXX **4789** 1–5 n., 3–5 n.

6 *Τιβαιρίου*, l. *Τιβερίου*. The same spelling in BGU III 838.5 (578).

7 *ἡμῶν* should have followed after *εὐτυχεστάτου*. The pronoun is absent also from the other formula in SB I 4678.12 (574).

9 *Πέτρε*. A 'Coptic' form of common type.

Αμειν. This name, of Semitic origin (*Αμιν* in the Nessana papyri), has not occurred in any other papyrus from Egypt.

ἀπό should have come before *ἐποικ(ίου)*.

10 *. .εμείο̣υ*. I have not been able to match this with any known toponym (the first letter is probably *ι*, the second perhaps *γ*).

τοῦ Ἰουστινουπολείτου νομοῦ. See **4835** 8 n.

N. GONIS

4837. Sale on Delivery

97/61(a) 14 × 9.5 cm 582/3

To judge from the indiction figure, this text dates from the first regnal year of Mauricius, and is a curiosity. Unlike all other Oxyrhynchite documents of the early years of this reign, it makes no reference to Tiberius II, Mauricius' predecessor, whose postconsulate is usually mentioned after the regnal clause of Mauricius. This may reflect bewilderment at a time of dynastic and protocol change, though it seems more likely that it is due to an oversight on the part of the scribe, who was not well versed in the conventions of notarial documents, despite the stylized confidence of his script. This is suggested by another omission in the regnal clause (see 3 n.), the use of a formula not at home in this kind of document (see 4 n.), the impossible equation of the 'private' standard of Oxyrhynchus with that of Alexandria (see 12 n.), and not least the several phonetic and morphological errors.

The papyrus breaks off just before the full identity of the document is revealed; what remains points to a 'sale on delivery' or 'receipt for the price of . . .', but the name of the commodity is lost in the break.

† βα]σιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου
ἡ]μῶν δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουΐου
Μαυ]ρικίου καὶ Αὐτωκράτωρου[c] ἔτους
α, *c.*8 ἰ]νδ(ικτίων)ο(c) ᾱ, οὔτ(ωc).
Αὐρήλιος] Ὀνοφρίου υἱὸς Ἀντ[ω]νᾶς
μητρὸς] Μαρίας Ῥαχὴλ ἀπὸ κτήματος
*c.*6]. ος τοῦ Ὀξυριχίτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίῳ
. .]. ίου Ἀβραμίου ἀρχηπερέτου τῆς
πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι
παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη εἰς ἰδίας μου
καὶ ἀναγκαίας χρείας χρυσοῦ νομίσματα
. ε[.]. . [. .] ἰδιωτ(ικῷ) Ἀλεξαντρίας εἰς
*c.*10]. α . . . [τ]ιμὴν [.]. [.]. . . [.]η.
. . . . .

Back, downwards, along the fibres:
] Ῥαχὴλ .[

3 l. Αὐτοκράτορος 4 ι]νδ$^{\circ}_{\kappa}$ ουτ^{-} 5 l. Ὀννώφριος, Ἀντωνᾶτος 7 l. Ὀξυρυγχίτου
8 l. ἀρχιυπηρέτῃ(?) 12 ιδιωτ$^{\zeta}$ l. Ἀλεξανδρείας

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius, ⟨the eternal Augustus⟩ and Imperator, year 1, . . . indiction 1, as follows.

'Aurelius Onnophrius son of Antonas, mother Maria Rachel, from the holding of . . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius . . . son of Abra(a)mius, chief-servant of the city, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you now on the spot, for my own and pressing needs, (four?) solidi of gold by the private standard of Alexandria, for the price agreed (?) . . .'

Back: '. . . Rachel . . .'

1–4 On the regnal clause see above, introd. For the standard clause, see *CSBE*² 212, 258.

3 *τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου* was omitted by oversight.

4 Month and day were lost in the break. There is room for restoring most month names; only *Θώθ* and *Φαῶφι* will certainly not do: the death of Tiberius II (13.viii.582) became known in Oxyrhynchus in the month of Hathyr, between 11 and 23 November (XVI **1976**). *Φαμενώθ* and especially *Φαρμοῦθι* would fit only with difficulty,

The presence of *οὕτ(ως)* at this point seems unparallelled. *οὕτ(ως)* commonly concludes the headings of accounts or lists; perhaps the scribe had experience in drawing up accounts in which *οὕτ(ως)* came after the reference to the indiction, but he was scarcely familiar with contracts.

5 *Ὀνοφρίου*, l. *Ὀννώφριος*. On this name and its declension, see LXX **4796** 14 n.

Ἀντ[ω]νᾶς, l. *Ἀντωνᾶτος*. This is the latest attestation of the name in a papyrus, previously last heard of in documents of the third century.

6 *Μ̣αρίας Ῥαχήλ*. This is apparently a double name, even if the expected *τῆς καί* is not written.

ἀπὸ κτήματος. This term suggests that the locality was part of a large estate (not necessarily of the Apion family).

8–9 *ἀρχηπερέτου* (l. *ἀρχιυπηρέτῃ*?) *τῆς πόλεως*. Alhough *ἀρχηπερέτου* could refer to *Ἀβραμίου*, I am inclined to associate it with the contracting party whose name is lost, and take the genitive as a mistake for the dative.

On the office of *ἀρχιυπηρέτης* see the short discussions in P. Münch. III 129.3 n. and in CPR XXIV 15.15 n, with references to earlier literature. The functions of the 'chief-servant of the city' are illustrated by P. Strasb. I 46–51 (566).

10–11 For the juxtaposition of *ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη* with *εἰς ἰδίας μου καὶ ἀναγκαίας χρείας*, cf. P. Münch. III 98.16–18 (593/4), PSI I 63.17–19 (624), X 1122.7–8, P. CtYBR inv. 358.2–3 (ed. *ZPE* 153 (2005) 171), P. Wisc. I 11.12–13 (all three of VII). Of these documents, the first two are loans, while the other three are 'sales on delivery'.

12 .ε̣[.]..[..]: τ̣έ̣[ς]ς̣α̣[ρα]?

ἰδιωτ(ικῷ) Ἀλεξαντρίας (l. *Ἀλεξανδρείας*). These are two different standards, and are often distinguished in texts of this period: the one is the 'private', or rather 'particular', standard of Oxyrhynchus, while the other is the (heavier) standard of Alexandria. See K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (Opladen 1994) 32.

12–13 One could read *εἰς* | [*τὴν συναρέ*]*ς̣α̣ς̣α̣ν̣* [*τ*]*ι̣μ̣ήν̣*, but we need *μοι* after the participle; yet [*τὴν συναρέσα*]*ς̣ά̣ν̣ μ̣*[*οι τ*]*ι̣μ̣ήν̣* is more difficult palaeographically. After [*τ*]*ι̣μ̣ήν̣*, we expect *πλήρης* or *πλῆρες*, but we do not seem to have this. At the end of the line, one might try reading *π̣λ̣ή̣*[*ρ*]*η̣ς̣*, but *λ̣* is most difficult.

14] *Ῥαχὴλ* .[. Metronymics are not often found in dockets, though cf. **4835** 25.

N. GONIS

V. DRAWINGS

Numbers in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri series have been allocated in advance to the items listed below. **4838–42** have been edited by Dr Helen Whitehouse in 'Drawing a Fine Line in Oxyrhynchus' in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, edd. A. K. Bowman, R. A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P. J. Parsons, Graeco-Roman Memoirs no. 93 (London 2007) 296–306 with plates xxvi–xxx (as listed below); **4843** has been edited by Dr D. Obbink in 'Imaging Oxyrhynchus', *Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (2003) cover, pp. 1, 3–6.

4838	Design for a leaf-shaped motif	86/46(b)	Plate xxvi
4839	Coloured design for a leaf-shaped motif	12 1B.138/K(a)(i)	Plate xxvii
4840	Design for a roundel filled with interlace pattern	48 5B.106/E(1–3)a	Plate xxviii
4841	The god Bes, draft for sculpture	37 4B.106	Plate xxix
4842	Architectural drawing	8 1B.199/H(1–2)e(i)	Plate xxx
4843	Drawing of man with shield and spear	27 3B.42/E(3–4)b	

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or its *Revised Supplement*. The article has been indexed only for **4807**; the Homeric lemmata have not been indexed for **4817**, **4820–21**; *καί* has not been indexed in the documentary section.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(*a*) **4807** (Sophocles, *Ἐπίγονοι*)

ἄθραυστος [12?]
αἴθων 5
ἀκόνη [4?]
ἄντυξ [11]
ἅρμα 11
ἄφανος 6 (for ἄφαλος?)
ἀψίς 12

βλῆτρον 12
βρύκειν 3

γάρ 2

δέ [4?], 6, 8, 11
διά [2?]
δίκη [3?]

ἐγείρειν 10
ἔργον [4?]
εὖ [4?]
εὕδειν 10

θήγειν 5
θωρακοφόρος 8

ἱππ- or -ιππο- [13?]

καί [6?]
κερκίς 9
κινεῖν 9
κολλᾶν 11
κρανοβαρής [6?]
κρανοδοκός [6?]
κυνῆ 6

λόφος [7]

ὁ 10
ὅς 10
ὀξύς 2
οὐ [6?]

πᾶς 4
περᾶν [2?]
πρίστις 3

ῥέειν [4?]
ῥόθιος [3?]

σείειν 7
σίδηρος 5
σοφός 9
στύπος [2?]

τε 12
τέκτων [11?]

ὕμνος 9
*ὑφαντήρ [8]

φοινικοβαφής 7

(*b*) **4808–11** (prose)

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ἀδικεῖν **4810** 15, 16
Ἀθηναῖοι **4810** 5
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ἀνήρ [**4808** ii 19] **4810** 4 **4811** 26–7
Ἀντίγονοc **4808** ii 9, [11–12]
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ἅπαc [**4809** ii 28?]
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ἀπιέναι **4811** 3
ἀπό **4809** ii 26
ἀποψεύδεcθαι **4808** i 4
ἁρμόζειν **4809** ii 22
αὐτόπτηc [**4808** ii 25–6]
αὐτόc **4808** i 3, 7, 10, [ii 23?] **4809** [i 15], ii 11, [13–14] **4810** 13 **4811** 3, [9?]
ἀφηγεῖcθαι **4808** i 5–6

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βαcιλεύειν **4809** ii 24–5
βαcιλίc **4809** i 16
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συμμαχ- **4809** ii 30; *see also ξύμμαχος*
συμφέρειν **4810** 12, 17
συνάπτειν **4809** ii 22
συνεῖναι [**4808** ii 4?]
συστρατεύειν **4808** ii 25
σχεδόν [**4808** i 23?] [**4809** ii 28?]
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τοιοῦτος [**4811** 22?]

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ὑμέτερος **4811** 9
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Φιλέταιρος [**4809** ii 26–7?]
Φίλιππος [**4808** i 14–15]
Φιλοπάτωρ **4808** i 16
φίλος **4811** 14, [17]
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φόνος [**4811** 22?]
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ὦ **4810** 4 **4811** 13, [26]
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ὡς **4808** ii 18? **4809** i 13, [ii 13] **4811** 3
ὠφέλεια **4808** i 32
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(*c*) **4812** (glossary)

Ἀλέξανδρος [$^{6+9}$ 4?]
ἀντ- ^{13} 7
Ἀντήνωρ ^{2} 5
Ἀντικλείδης $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 5 (for *Αὐτοκλείδης?*)
Ἀντιοχεύς [$^{6+9}$ 4?]
ἀπό ^{13} 4
Ἀριστοτέλης [^{2} 8]
ἀρχη- $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 2
Ἀσία $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 10, [17–18]
Ἀσκληπιάδης [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 6]
αὐτός [^{20} 6?]

Βαβυλωνιακά $^{6+9}$ 20, ^{12a} 10
βασιλεύς $^{6+9}$ 1
Βήρωσσος [$^{6+9}$ 20], ^{12a} 9
βλέφαρον $^{6+9}$ 6

γεωργικά [^{19} 3], ^{20} 5

δηλοῦν [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 5?]
διά [^{12a} 4], [^{20} 6?]
διηνεκής [^{13} 1?]
Διονύσιος $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 13
δύο $^{6+9}$ 22

ἐν [^{2} 8], $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ [1], 6, 12, 17, $^{6+9}$ 3, 20, 21, ^{12a} [6], 8, [10], ^{13} 3, ^{14} 2, [^{20} 5]
ἐνθουσιάζειν [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 3–4]
ἐνταῦθα ^{12a} 4
ἐντοσθίδια (ἐντοστίδια) ^{12a} 7
ἐπί [$^{6+9}$ 13]
Ἐρασίστρατος ^{12a} 7–8

ἑρμηνεύειν ^{12a} 3
Ἑστιαῖος ^{12a} 5–6
ἕτερος [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 4]
εὐρυχωρία $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 23

Ἡγήσανδρος [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 12]
Ἡρακλείδης [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 8?]

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Θεσσαλός [^{2} 8]
θυροῦν $^{6+9}$ 22

ἱερεύς ^{17} 2?
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καλεῖν $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 4, [^{25} 2?]
κατά $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 10, 17, $^{6+9}$ 10, ^{12a} 9
Κρής ^{14} 4
Κρητ- ^{14} 5 (cf. ^{17} 1 n.)

λάγυνος [^{2} 8?]
λαός [^{13} 6?]
Λιβύη $^{6+9}$ 10
λιθ- ^{13} 2

Μακεδών $^{6+9}$ 18
Μαργιανός [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 2?]
Μάρδος $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 4, [^{18} 2?]
μοιχ- $^{6+9}$ 8

Ξενοφῶν $^{6+9}$ 21

Ὅμηρος ^{13} 5
-ονομασιῶν $^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 19
Ὀψαρτυτικόν ^{12a} 8

Παναίτιος [^{14} 3]
παρά [$^{3+5\text{ etc.}}$ 4], $^{6+9}$ 6, 13, [^{14} 4]

Πάρθος [[3 + 5 etc.] 27?]
περί [3 + 5 etc.] 10, 17, [[6 + 9] 21], [12a] 6, [[13] 3]
Πέρσης [[6 + 9] 13], [12a] 9
ποιεῖν [3 + 5 etc.] 3
πολιτεία [2] 4, 8, [3 + 5 etc.] 21
πρός [12a] 11
πυρός [12a] 3, 4

Ῥόδιος [13] 3

Σκυθικά [3 + 5 etc.] 1

τις [12a] 7
τοῖχος [[6 + 9] 22]
τροφή [12a] 11
Τρωϊκός [6 + 9] 3

**ὑποθησαυρίζειν* [12a] 5
ὑπόμνημα [3 + 5 etc.] 12

φιλοπονία [2] 2
Φοινίκη [12a] 6
Φοῖνιξ [12a] 2, [5]

Χαλδαῖος [[6 + 9] 6]

ὡς [12a] 5, 7, [13] 6?

II. HOMERICA

(*a*) **4817** (Summary)

α (= *ἡ πρώτη*) 1
Ἀγαμέμνων [3], 8
αἰτία 7
αἰχμάλωτος 3
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Ἀπόλλων [3]
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι [11?]
Ἀχιλλεύς [7]

Βρισηΐς [11?]

δεῖσθαι [4–5]
διόπερ 5

Ἕλλην [6]
ἐννέα 6
ἐπί 6, [8]
ἐπιγιγνώσκειν 7
ἔχειν 3
ἕως [7]

ἡμέρα 6

θεός [6]
θυγάτηρ 4

ἱερεύς [3]
Ἰλιάς 1

καί 8
Κάλχας 7, 9
κατέχειν [5]

λοιδορεῖν 9
λοιμός 5
λυτροῦν [5]

μαντεία [9]
μαντεύεσθαι [7–8]
μέν 8, [9]
μηνίειν 6

οὐκ 4

παλλακίς 3
πατήρ 5, 10
πρότερον 8

Χρυσηΐς 4, [10]
Χρύσης [4]

(*b*) **4818–19** (Scholia minora)

(i) Words glossed

ἀεικέα **4818** ii 3 **4819** → 10
ἀνέδυ **4819** ↓ 10
ἀπηνέος **4819** → 8
ἀπούρας **4819** ↓ 4

ἄσσον [**4818** i 19?] **4819** → 4
αὖτε **4818** ii 1
αὐτοῖο [**4819** ↓ 14?]
ἄφαρ **4818** ii 10

βάτην [**4818** i 11?]
βένθεσι **4819** ↓ 8

γέροντι **4819** ↓ 9

δακρυχέων **4819** ↓ 5

ἐγγυαλίξαι **4818** ii 21
ἑλών **4819** ↓ 3
ἐρέοντο [**4818** i 16?] **4819** → 2
*ἑτάρωθεν [**4818** ii 9?]
ἔτισεν **4819** ↓ 2

ἧισιν [**4818** i 17?] **4819** → 3
ἡμένη **4819** ↓ 7
ἠρήσατο **4818** ii 17
ἠΰτε **4819** ↓ 11

θύει **4818** ii 5

ἴτε [**4818** i 19?] **4819** → 5

λιασθείς **4818** ii 12
λοιγόν **4819** → 11

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προΐει [**4818** i 10?] **4819** → 6
προσεφώνεον **4819** → 1
πρόσσω **4818** ii 6

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στήτην [**4818** i 15?]
σφῶιν [**4818** i 20?]

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ἀπό **4818** iii 14
ἄφθαρτος **4819** → 7
ἀφρός [**4818** iii 13–14?]

ἑαυτοῦ **4818** i 17? **4819** → 3
ἐγγύς [**4818** i 19?] **4819** → 4
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φίλος [**4818** iii 9?]

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(*c*) **4820–21** (Commentaries)

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ἀγνοεῖν **4821** 15
ἀήρ [**4820** 12?]
ἀθετεῖν **4821** [1], 11
ἀκούειν **4821** 13–14
ἀλλά [**4820** 2]
ἀλλήλων **4820** 4
ἀλλός **4820** 3
ἀμφότερος [**4820** 6–7?]
ἀνάλογος **4821** 6
ἀπαθής **4821** 9
ἀπόλλυσθαι **4821** 14–15
ἀποπέμπειν **4821** 4–5
Ἀριστοφάνης [**4821** 13]
ἀρχαῖος **4820** 10
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γάρ **4821** 4, 5, [12]
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ἐγώ **4821** 14, 16
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ἐλλείπειν **4821** 8
ἐπαιτεῖν [**4821** 1–2?]
ἐπάν **4820** 9
ἐπί **4820** 8
ἐσθλός [**4821** 17]
ἕτερος **4820** 17
εὖδειν **4820** 8
ἔχειν **4820** 12

η (= 8) **4821** 1
ἤ **4821** 16
ἦθος **4821** 12
ἡμέρα [**4820** 7]
ἡμέτερος **4820** 5

θεός **4820** 11

ἵκειν **4820** 14
ἰσχυρός [**4820** 14?]

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καλῶς [**4820** 21?]
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κειμήλιον **4821** 17
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λέγειν **4820** 2, 9, 15
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μέγαρον [**4821** 16–17]
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προβα- **4820** 9
Πύλος **4820** 17

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σιδήρειος [**4820** 13?]

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ὑπέρ **4820** 12
ὑποτάσσειν [**4821** 16?]

φαντασία [**4820** 5?]
φάναι [**4821** 16?]
φιλοκερδής **4821** 11

χάλκεος **4820** 13
χρυσοῦς **4820** 15

ὠκεανός **4820** 2, 3
ὡς **4820** 5

III. RULERS

Augustus

Καίσαρος **4822** 4, 14, 17 (year 27) **4823** 3 (year unknown)

Nero

Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος **4824** 6–8, 24–6 (year 13)
Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορα **4824** 17–19

Marcus Aurelius

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μεγίστου **4827** 38–41 (year 14)

Marcus Aurelius and Verus

Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων **4826** 6–7 (year 9)
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου **4826** 15–19 (year 9)

Septimius Severus

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου **4828** ii 26–7 (year 3)

Iustinus II

βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4834** 1–3 (year 3)
βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4835** 2–5 (year <9>)
βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4836** 2–5 (year 13)

Tiberius II

(*βασιλείας*) *Φλαουΐου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου Καίσαρος* **4836** 6–7 (no regnal year)

Mauricius

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουΐου Μαυρικίου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος **4837** 1–3 (year 1)

IV. CONSULS

426 *ὑπατείᾳ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιβ// καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β// τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων* **4830** 1–3
429 *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουΐων Φήλικος καὶ Ταύρου τῶν λαμπροτάτων* **4831** 1–2
436 *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουΐων Ἀρεοβίνδου καὶ Ἄσπερος τῶν λαμπροτάτων* **4832** 1–2
516 *ὑπατείας Φλαουΐου Πέτρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου* **4833** 1
568 *βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος* **4834** 1–3
578 *ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν* (Iustinus II) *γαληνότητος τὸ β* **4836** 5

V. INDICTIONS AND ERAS

(*a*) Indictions

1st indiction **4837** 3 (= 582/3)
2nd indiction **4834** 3 (= 568/9)
4th indiction **4832** 11 (= 435/6)
7th indiction **4835** 5, 17 (= 573/4)

10th indiction **4830** 11 (= 426/7) **4833** 2 (= 516/17)
11th indiction **4836** 8 (= 577/8)
13th indiction **4831** 17 (= 429/30)

(*b*) Eras

112/81 **4832** 10 (= 435/6)
103/72 **4830** 4 (= 426/7)
106/75 **4831** 17 (= 429/30)

VI. MONTHS

Φαῶφι **4828** ii 14 **4831** 16 **4833** 2 **4834** 3
Χοιάκ **4829** i 19 **4830** 3
Τῦβι **4832** 2
Μεχείρ **4822** 14, 17 **4832** 10 **4836** 8
Φαμενώθ **4835** 5
Φαρμοῦθι **4828** ii 12
Παχών **4835** 16
Παῦνι **4826** 9
Ἐπείφ **4824** 26
Μεσορή (*ἐπαγόμεναι*) **4831** 2

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30 January 3 BC **4822** 14, 17
17 July 67 **4824** 24–6
168/9 **4826** 15–19
173/4 **4827** 38–41
27 March – 25 April 195 **4828** ii 12, 25–7
7 December 426 **4830** 1–3
26 August 429 **4831** 1–2
12 January 436 **4832** 1–2
17 October 516 **4833** 1–2
28 September – 27 October 568 **4834** 1–3
21 March 574 **4835** 2–5
1 February 578 **4836** 2–8
582/3 **4837** 1–4

VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

A—, Aur. **4834** 8
Ἀβράμιος, f. of Aur. —ius **4837** 8
Ἀδραστ[, f. of Adrastion **4826** 1
Ἀδραστίων, s. of Adrast— **4826** 1
Αμ[, f. of Harpaesis **4826** 3
Αμειν, f. of Aur. Petrc **4836** 9
Ἄννίς, m. of Aur. Seuthes, w. of Horion **4829** i 8
Ἀντωνῖνος *see* Index IV s.vv. Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus
Ἀντωνᾶς, f. of Aur. Onnophri(u)s, h. of Maria Rachel **4837** 5
Ἀπίων, f. of Aur. Theon— **4830** 7, 14
Ἀπίων, Fl., former *consul ordinarius* and *patricius* **4834** 4
Ἀπολλώνιος, topareh **4822** 1
Ἀρεόβινδος *see* Index V s.v. 436
Ἁρπάησις, s. of Am— **4826** 3
Ἀρχέλαος, Fl., *vir clarissimus*, s. of Phoebammon **4830** 4
Ἄσπερ *see* Index V s.v. 436
Αὔγουστος *see* Index IV s.v. Iustinus II; Index V s.vv. 426, 568
Αὐρηλία **4832** 3; *see also* s.vv. *Θεοδώρα*, *Θεωνο*—, *Μαρτυρία*, *Σοφία*
Αὐρήλιος *see* s.vv. *A*—, *Διονύσιος*, *Μηνᾶς*, *Ὄννωφρις*, *Πέτρε*, *Σεύθης*, *Φοιβάμμων*, —*δωρος*, —*ιος*; *see also* Index IV s.vv. Mareus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus

Διογένης, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome **4822** 1, 13
Διονύσιος, Royal Scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome **4822** 1, [15]
Διονύσιος, Aur., s. of Sarapion, gr.s. of Dionysius, gymnasiarch, councillor of Oxyrhynchus **4829** i 1

Ἑρμιόνη, d. of Caesarius, m. of Stephanus, w. of Sarapion **4824** 4

Ζαχαρίας, f. of Aur. —dorus **4831** 3

Ἡραῖς, m. of Aur. Sophia, w. of Heracles **4833** 9
Ἡρακλῆς, f. of Aur. Theodora **4832** 6

Θάησις, w. of Stephanus **4828** ii 1
Θεοδόσιος *see* Index V s.v. 426
Θεοδώρα, Aur., d. of Heracles, m. of Aur. Martyria **4832** 5, 17
Θέων, f. of Mnesitheus **4825** 4
Θέων, chief priest of the Hadrianeum, s. of Theon **4828** ii 2–3

Θέων, f. of Theon **4828** ii 3
Θεωνο— (*Θεωνοῦς*?), Aur., d. of Apion **4830** 7, 14
Θῶνις, s. of Patoiphis, h. of Chenamus **4822** 9

Ἰουστῖνος see Index IV s.v. Iustinus II; Index V s.v. 568
Ἰωάννης, f. of Aur. Phoebammon, h. of Martha **4835** 6–7, 22, 25

Καῖσαρ see Index IV s.vv. Augustus, Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Septimius Severus, Tiberius II
Καισάριος, f. of Hermione, gr.f. of Stephanus **4824** 5
Καλάμων, priest and steward of the church of St Mary **4833** 6
Κλαύδιος see Index IV s.v. Nero
Κωνσταντῖνος see Index IV s.v. Tiberius II

Λευκάδιος, shepherd, s. of Sosibius **4822** 10
Λούκιος see Index IV s.v. Septimius Severus

Μάρθα, m. of Aur. Phoebammon, w. of Iohannes **4835** 7, 25
Μαρία see Index XI
Μαρία, Rachel, m. of Aur. Onnophri(u)s, w. of Antonas **4837** 6
Μαρτυρία, d. of Aur. Theodora **4832** 4
Μαρτύριος, f. of Aurelia N.N. **4832** 3
Μαυρίκιος see Index IV s.v Mauricius
Μηνᾶς, *oiketes* of Fl. Apion (II) **4834** 6
Μηνᾶς, Aur., servant of the glorious house (of Apion II) **4835** 9
Μνησίθεος, s. of Theon **4825** 4

Νέρων see Index IV s.v. Nero

Ὄννωφρις, Aur., s. of Antonas and Maria Rachel **4837** 5
Οὐαλεντινιανός see Index V s.v. 426
Οὐῆρος see Index IV s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus

Παλᾶς **4823** 4
Παπίσκος, *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, ex-*cosmetes* 'of the city' **4824** 1 **4825** 2
Πάτοιφις, father of Thonis **4822** 9
Πετέησις **4823** 5
Πετεσοῦχος **4823** 6
Πέτρε, Aur., son of Amein **4836** 9
Πέτρος see Index V s.v. 516
Πέτρων, f. of Chenamus **4822** 3
Πραοῦς, f. of Aur. Sophia **4833** 8, [12]

Ῥαχήλ, Maria, m. of Aur. Onnophri(u)s, w. of Antonas **4837** 6, 14

Σαραπίων, s. of Tryphon, f. of Stephanus, h. of Hermione **4824** 2–3, 20
Σαραπίων, f. of Phanias, s. of Phanias [**4827** 1, 42–3]
Σαραπίων, s. of Phanias [**4827** 1, 43–4]
Σαραπίων, s. of Sarapion **4827** 4
Σαραπίων, f. of Sarapion **4827** 4
Σαραπίων, s. of Dionysius, f. of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch, cx-*prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus **4829** i 4
Σεβαστός see Index IV s.vv. Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus; *see also* Index XVI
Σεουῆρος see Index IV s.v. Septimius Severus
Σεπτίμιος see Index IV s.v. Septimius Severus
Σεύθης, Aur., son of Horion and Annis **4829** i 7
Σοφία, Aur., d. of Praus and Herais **4833** 8, 12
Στέφανος, s. of Sarapion and Hermione, gr.s. of Tryphon and Caesarius **4824** 2, 20
Στέφανος, h. of Thaesis **4828** ii 1
Σωσίβιος, f. of Leucadius **4822** 10

Ταῦρος see Index V s.v. 429
Τιβέριος see Index IV s.v. Tiberius II
Τρύφων, f. of Sarapion, gr.f. of Stephanus **4824** 3–4, 21

Φανίας, s. of Sarapion, gr.s. of Phanias **4827** 1, 42, [24]
Φανίας, chief priest of the Hadrianeum, f. of Sarapion, gr.f. of Phanias **4827** 2, 43
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Φλάουϊος see s.vv. *Ἀπίων*, *Ἀρχέλαος*; *see also* Index IV s.vv. Iustinus II, Tiberius II, Mauricius; Index V s.vv. 429, 436, 516, 568
Φοιβάμμων, f. of Fl. Archelaus **4830** 5
Φοιβάμμων, Aur., s. of N.N. **4831** 4
Φοιβάμμων, Aur., son of Iohannes and Martha **4835** 6, 21, 25

Χεναμοῦς, d. of Petron **4822** 3

Ὡρίων, f. of Aur. Seuthes, h. of Annis **4829** i 7–8

—*δωρος*, Aur., s. of Zacharias **4831** 3
—*ιος*, Aur., s. of Abra(a)mius, chief-servant of Oxyrhynchus **4837** 8
. . . .*νις* **4824** 22

IX. GEOGRAPHICAL

Ἀλεξάνδρεια **4837** 12; *see also* Index XIV(*b*)
Ἀλθαιεύς **4827** 5

Ἡρακλεοπολίτης (νομός) [**4826** 2–3]

Θεοφίλου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου (κλῆρος) **4827** 9
Θῶλθις (κώμη) **4825** 1, 8

Ἰουστινουπολίτης (νομός) **4836** 10
Ἰσιεῖον Παγγᾶ **4824** 9–10 [**4827** 3]

Μονίμου (ἐποίκιον) **4828** ii 2

Νέα Ἰουστίνου (πόλις) **4835** 8, 10

Ξενάρχου (ἐποίκιον) **4831** 3, 21

Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) [**4824** 1] **4825** 3 [**4831** 4] **4837** 7
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Ὀξυρύγχων (πόλις) **4824** 5 **4825** 5 [**4827** 2–3] [**4834** 3]

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Πάϊμις **4822** 7
Πηνηβ (ἐποίκιον) **4835** 8, 25
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Σωσικόσμιος [**4827** 4–5]

τοπαρχία **4822** 7 (πρὸς λίβα) **4824** 10 (ἄνω) **4825** 8 (κάτω)

Φιλονίκου (κώμη) [**4826** 2]

. . εμείου (ἐποίκιον) **4836** 10
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εὐσεβέστατος [**4834** 1] **4835** 2–3 **4837** 1

θειότατος **4834** 1 **4835** 2 **4836** 2 **4837** 1

Μαρία **4833** 4

πρεσβύτερος **4833** 7

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XI. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀρχιυπηρέτης **4837** 8

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βουλευτής **4829** i 2

γαληνότης **4836** 5
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ἔνδοξος **4835** 9
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κοσμητεύειν **4825** 2

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πανεύφημος **4834** 4, [7]
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στρατηγός **4822** 1, 13 **4824** 1 **4825** 3

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ὑπερφυέστατος **4834** 4

XII. PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS

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οἰκέτης **4834** 6
οἰκονόμος **4833** 7
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XIII. MEASURES

(*a*) Weights and Measures

ἄρουρα **4827** 10, 11, 20
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ἰδιωτικόν (*sc.* *ζυγόν*) **4837** 12
κεράτιον **4835** (15), 24
μνᾶ **4828** ii 10
νόμισμα **4837** 11
νομισμάτιον **4831** 10, 11, 14 **4835** 14–15, 15, 23–4

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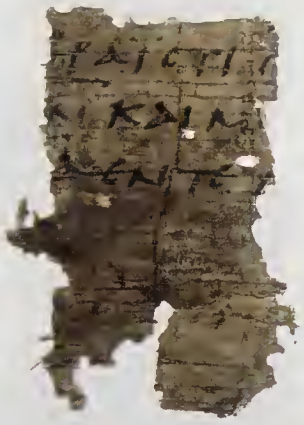
SB XX 14095 ii 1; 2	**4825** 1 n.; **4824** 1 n.

↓ **4803** →



→

4805

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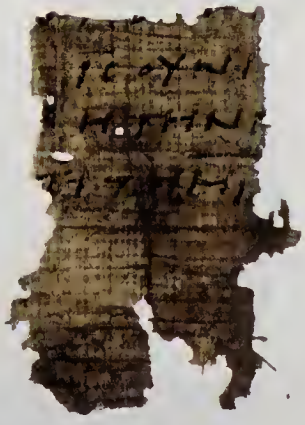

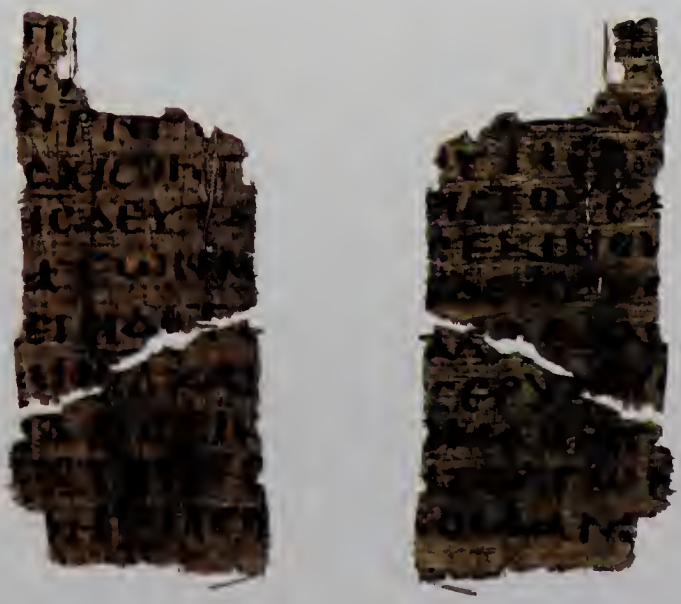

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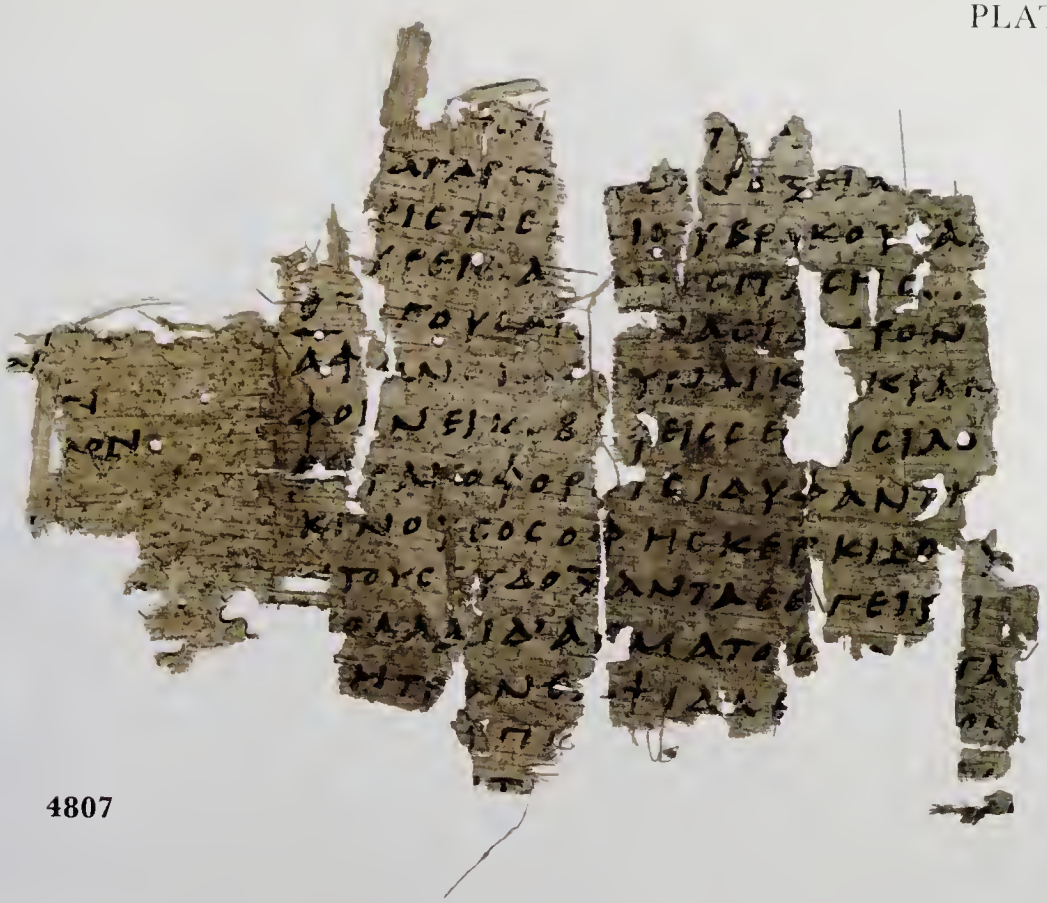
4810



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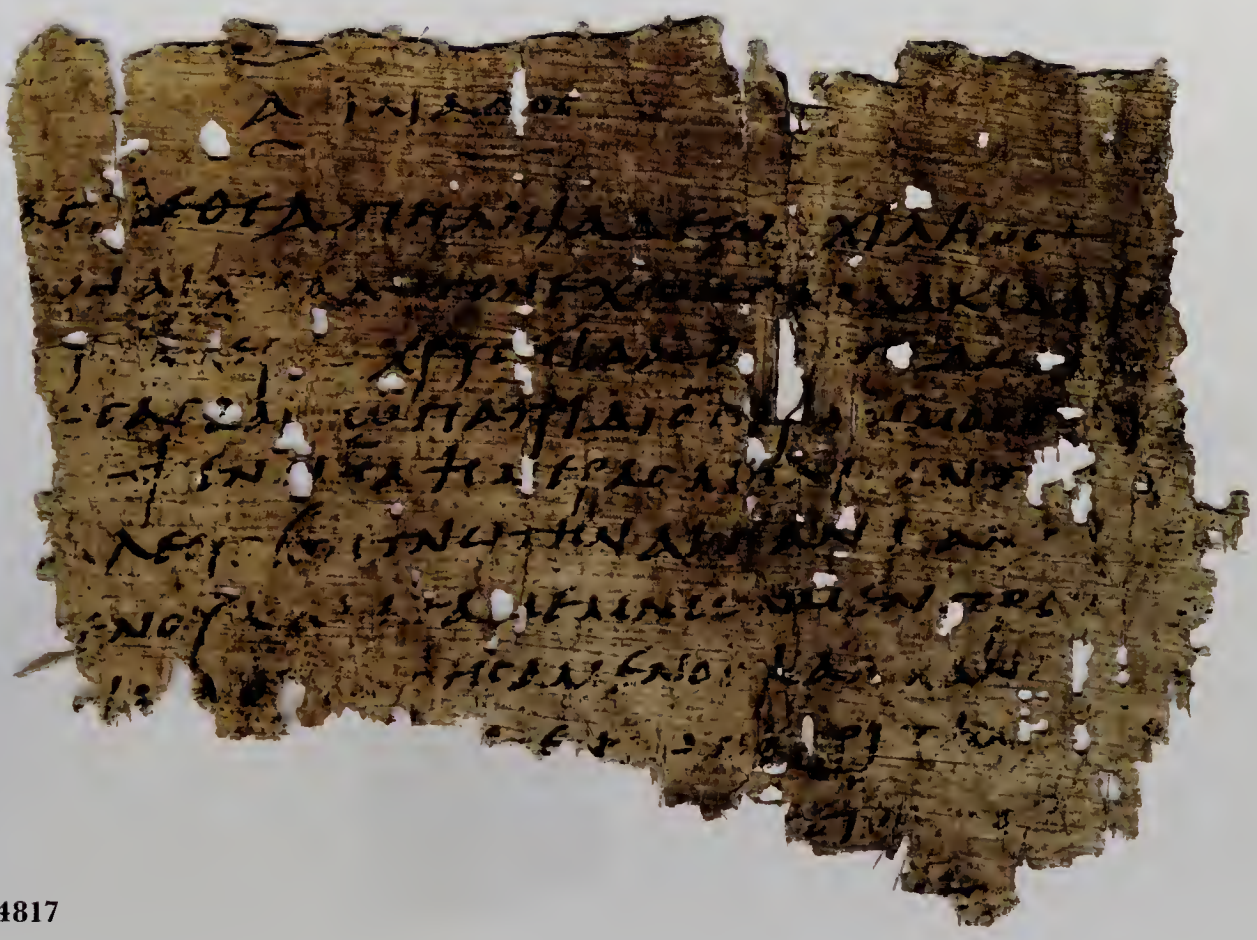

4817

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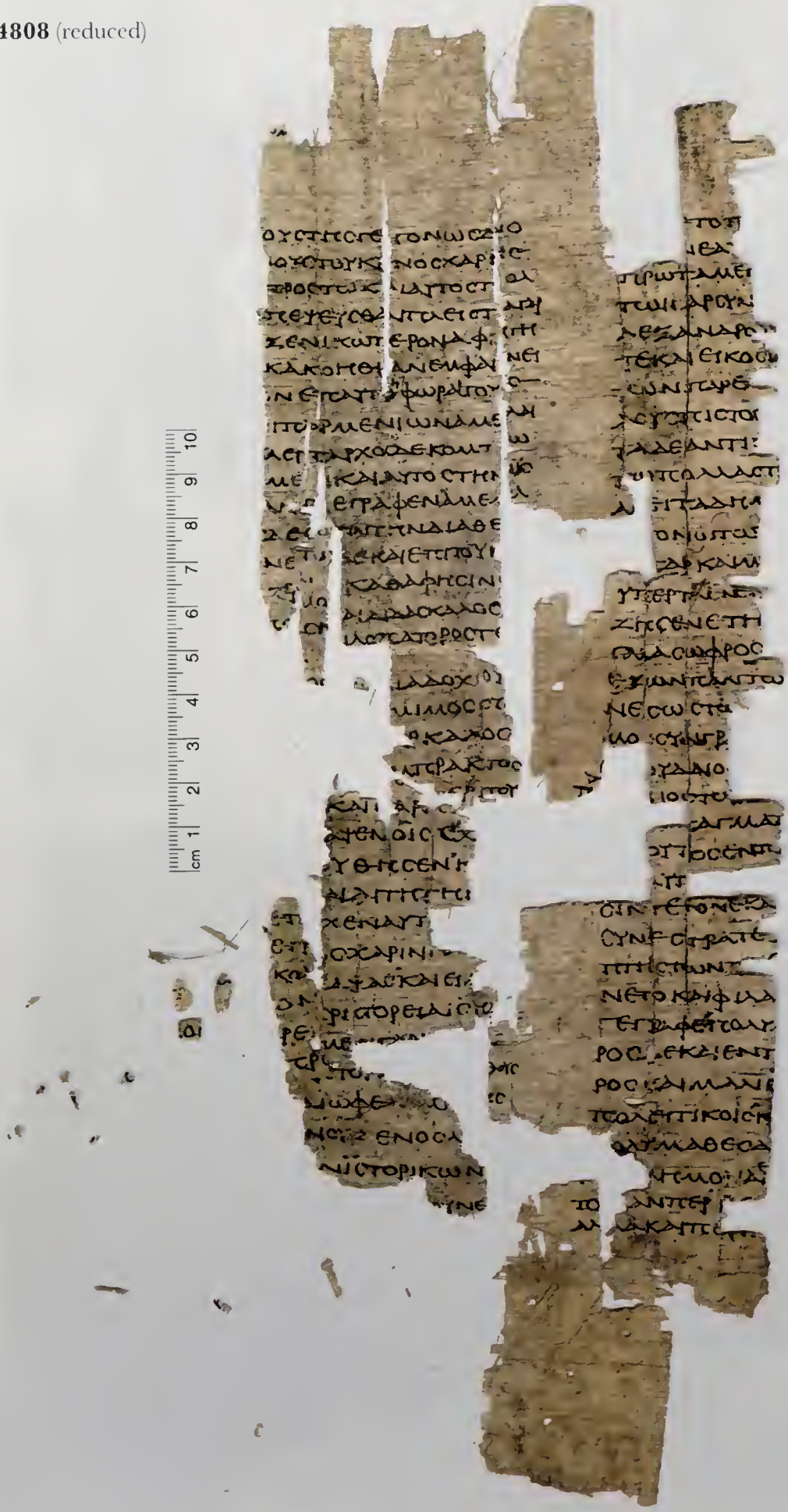

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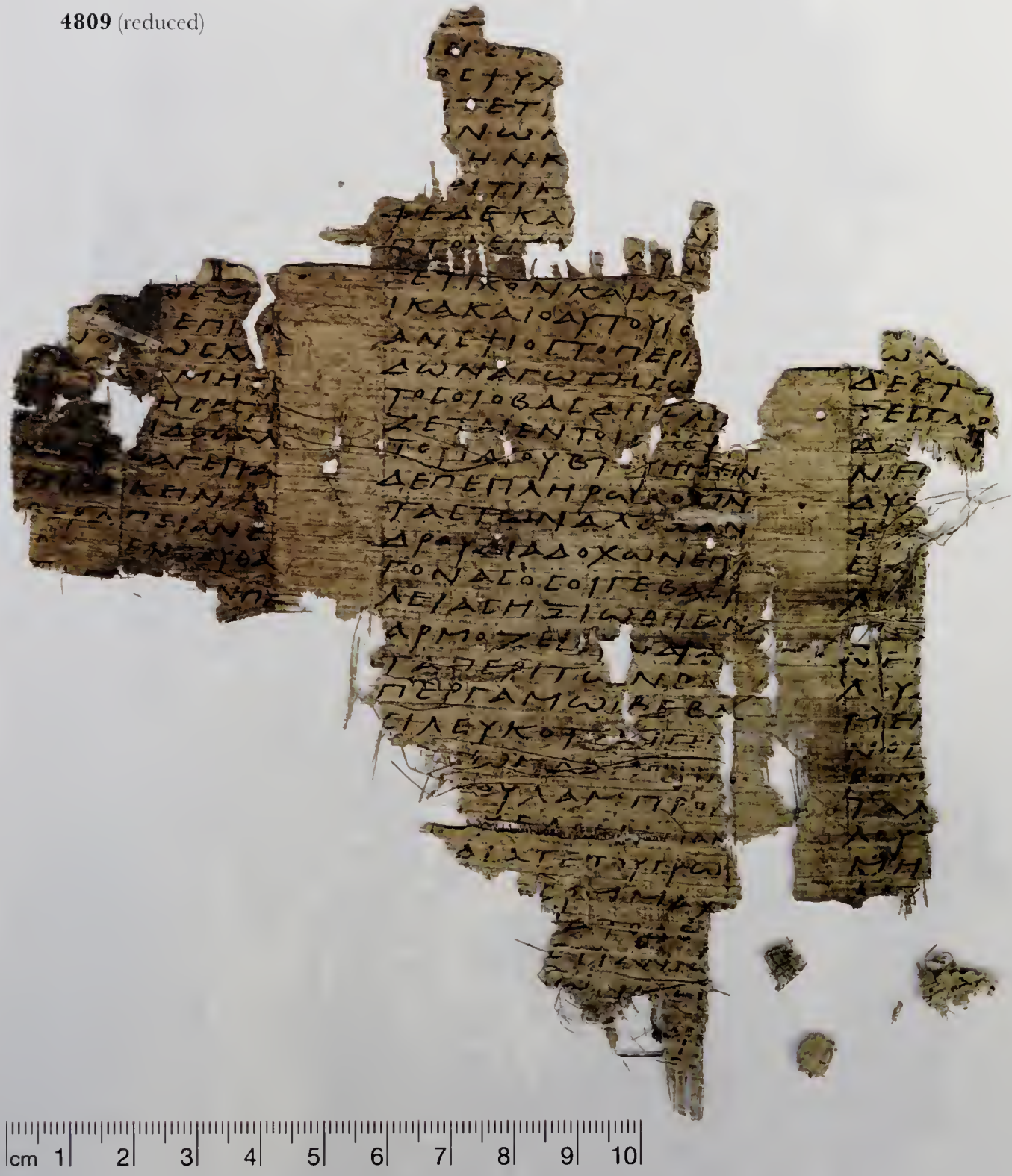

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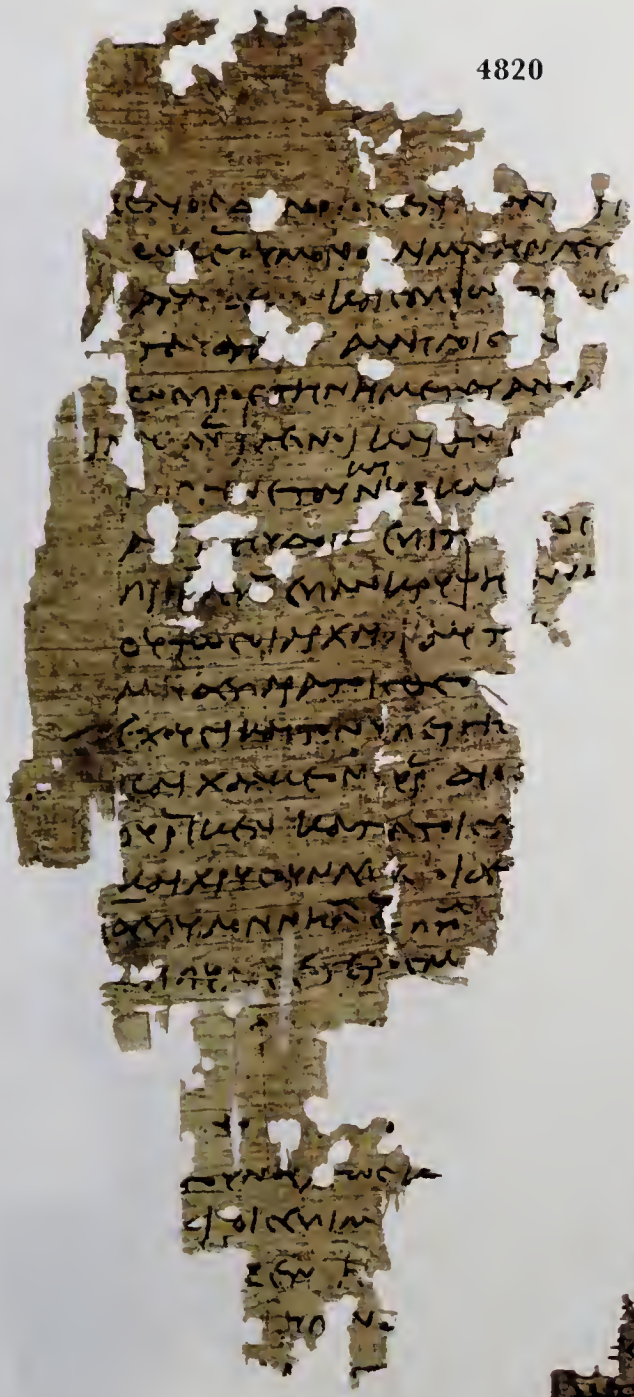
4820



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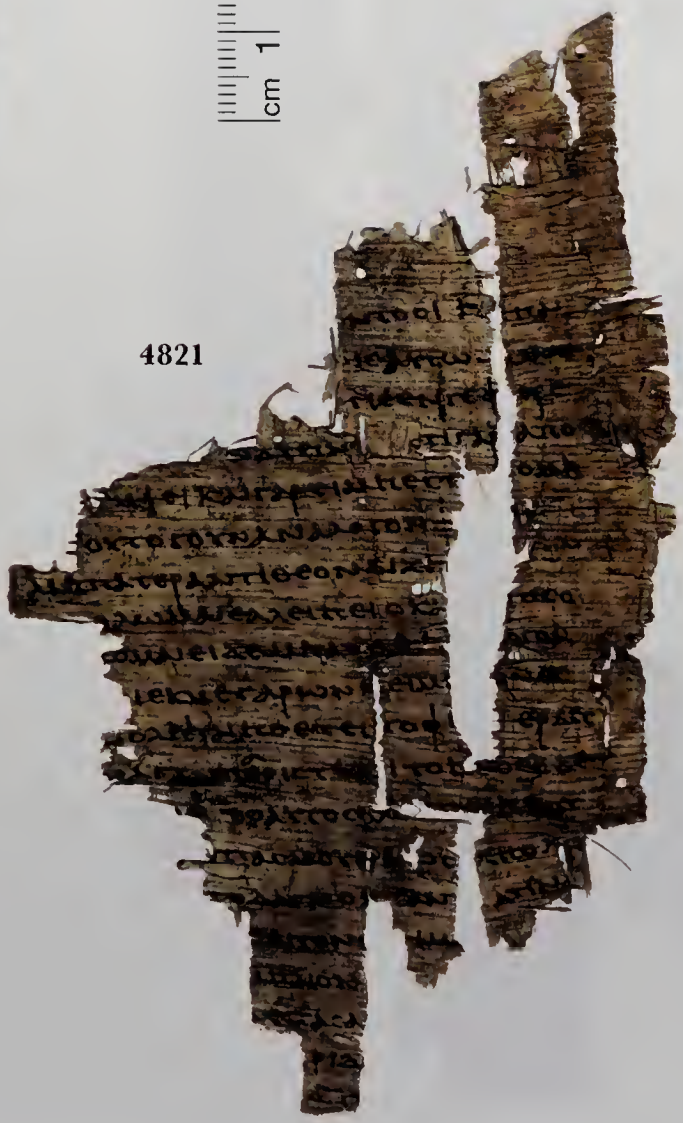
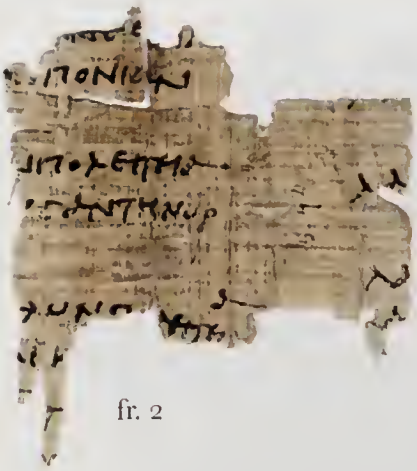


4812



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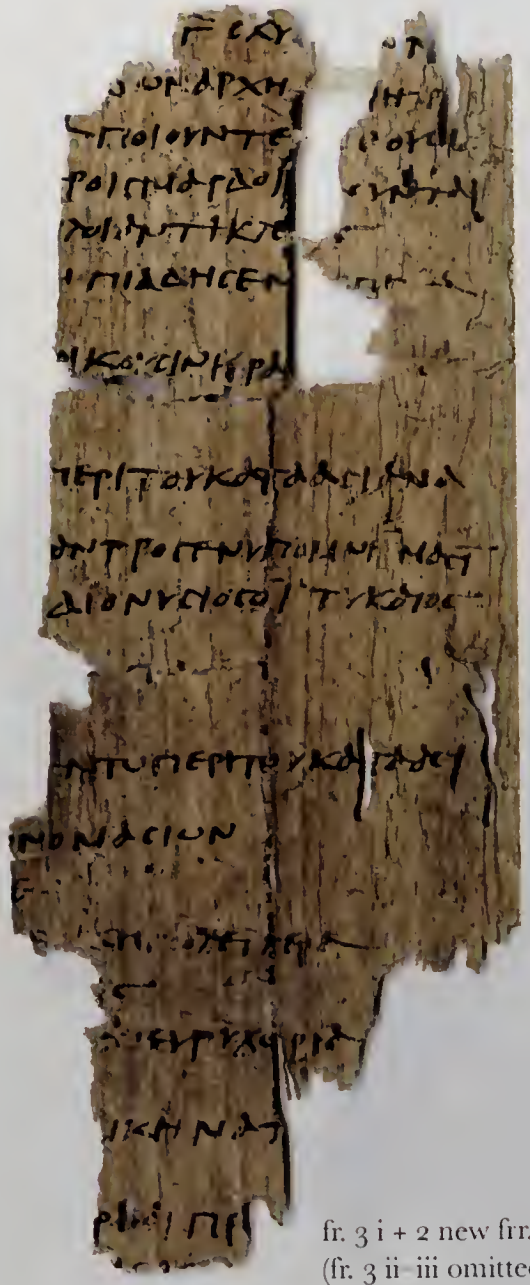

fr. 3 i + 2 new frr. + fr. 5
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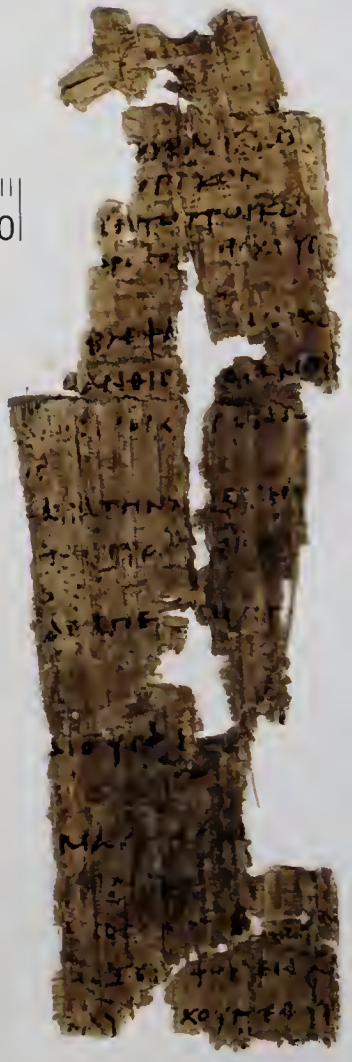

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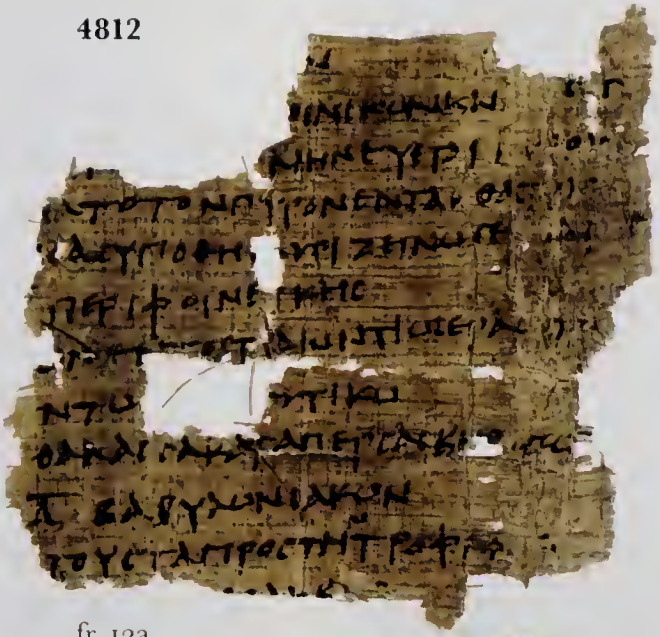
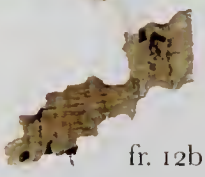
4812



fr. 12a



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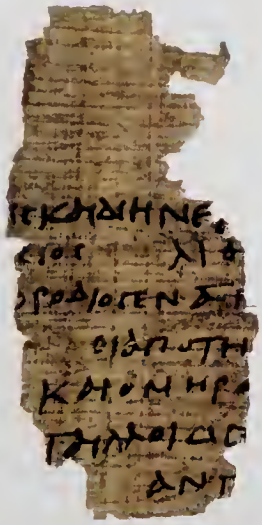

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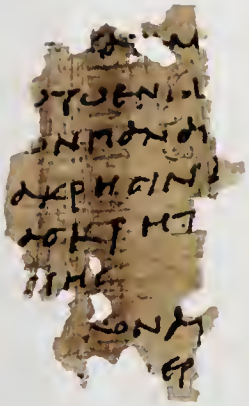


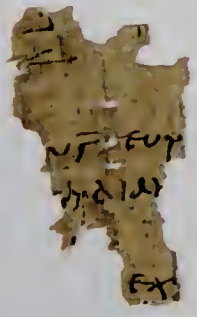
fr. 14

fr. 18

fr. 19

fr. 16

fr. 17



fr. 20

fr. 21

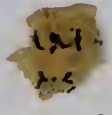
fr. 22

fr. 23

fr. 24

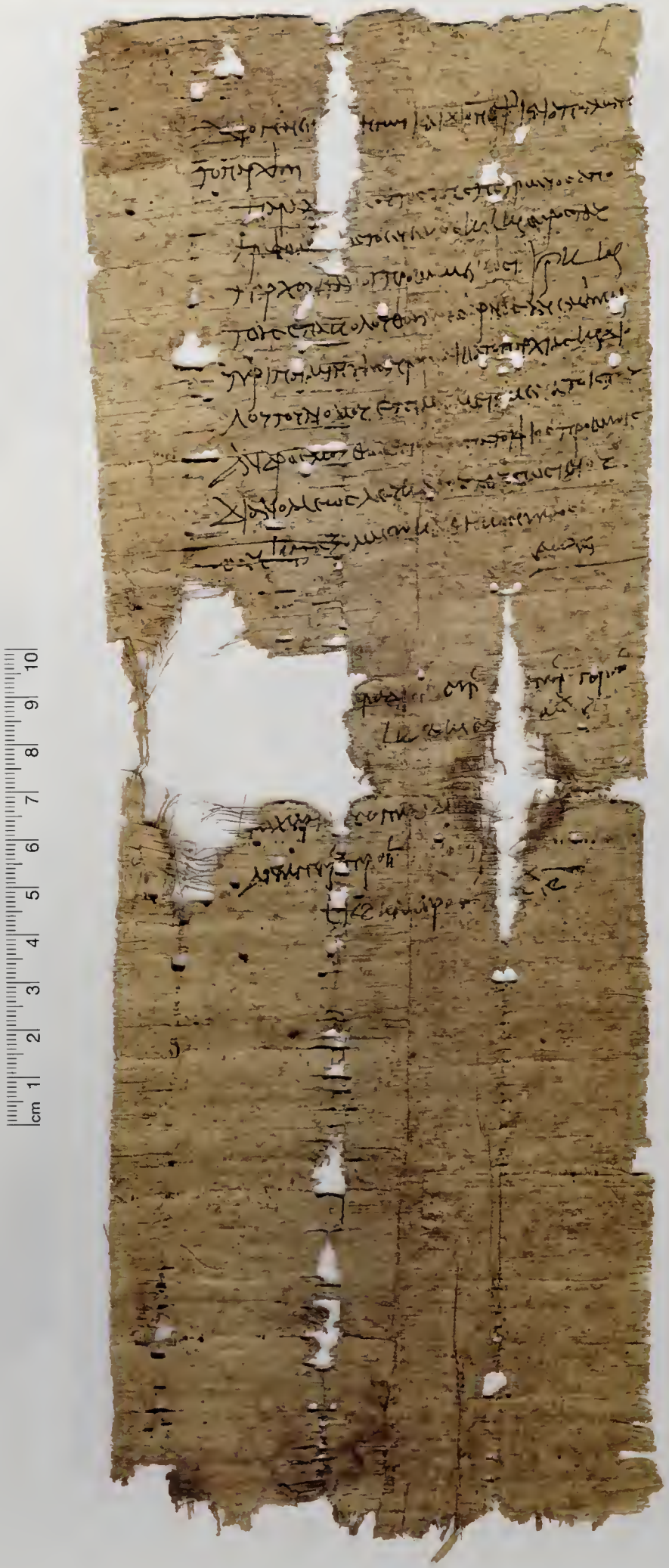
fr. 25

fr. 26

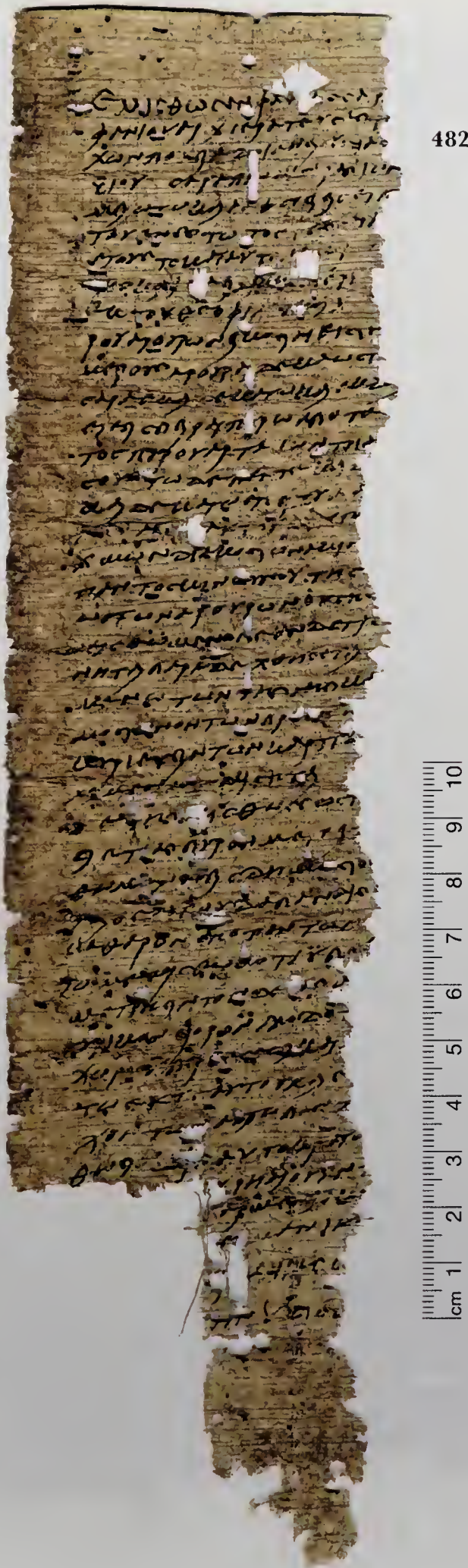


fr. 27

fr. 28



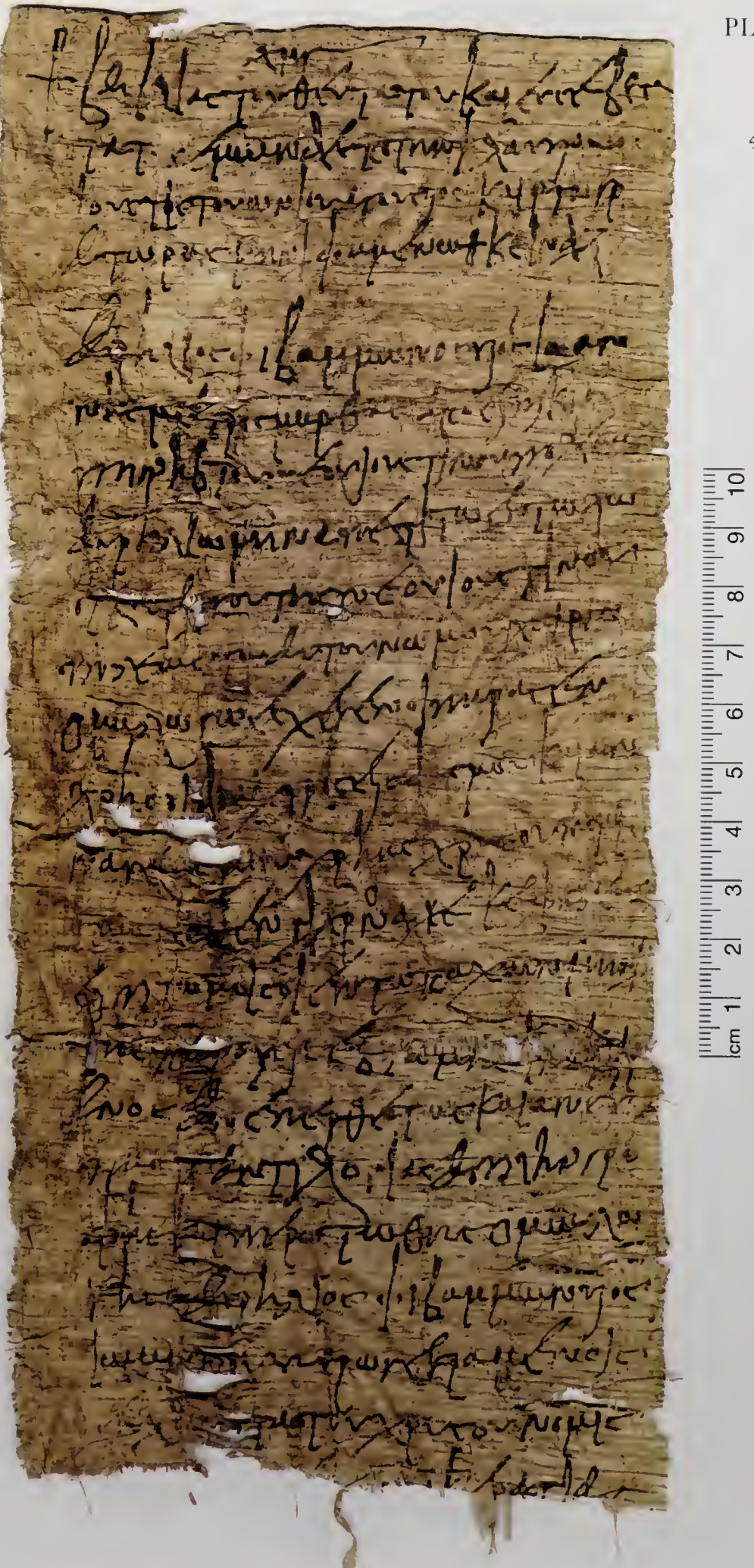
4822 (reduced)



4827 (reduced)

PLATE XII

4835 (reduced)



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